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POWER AND THE MARGINAL SITUATION
INDIAN - RELATIONS IN THE YELLOWKNIFE - FORT RAE AREA
OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

by

© DONALD J. LOREE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled POWER AND THE MARGINAL SITUATION: INDIAN-RELATIONS IN THE YELLOWKNIFE-FORT RAE AREA OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES submitted by Donald J. Loree in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines Indian-white relations in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area of the Northwest Territories. The data was collected by participant observation during two field trips to the area. Particular attention is paid to the historical development of political, social and economic interrelationships in the North as well as to their consequences in the present situation. Consideration of the data is principally from the perspective of marginal man theory, and utilizes the idea of the marginal situation in particular. The purpose of this is twofold; to attempt an explication of the current situation and its development and, to determine the applicability of marginal man theory to a situation having antecedents and locale different from those discussed in the literature.

This research finds that Indian-white relations are, and have been, singularly characterized by a subordinate-dominant relationship based upon economic exploitation and the extension of power into the social, political and educational realms. The major characteristics of a marginal situation are found to exist in the North. However, an explanation of their historical antecedents and the Indian response of innovative and challenging organizational development cannot be adequately advanced solely in terms of marginal man theory.

Marginal man theory and the studies that have been conducted are found to generally underplay the power correlates of a developing marginal situation. In this instance, power and its institutional expressions are critical facets of intergroup

relationships. The historical circumstances and the research data demonstrate that the consideration of power differentials, the exercise of power, and attempts to change power-based relationships is essential, and they have been so examined. An important aspect of the situation which is considered in this connection is that of conflict and potential conflict between the groups involved.

In this instance, the discussion of the power-related aspects of Indian-white relationships, historical and current, draws upon the Metropolis-Hinterland perspective. It is suggested that this facilitates a more inclusive and appropriate examination and explication of this northern Canadian situation. As such, it provides a valuable and necessary complement to marginal man theory and the analysis of marginal situations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL

A great deal of contemporary sociological enterprise has been directed toward the situation and problems of various ethnic and "racial" minorities in North American society. In Canada, as in the United States, this inquiry has been predominately focused upon the larger and more vocal groups and various aspects of political, social and economic inequity related to their position in society. Because of these immediate and pressing issues, sociologists have by and large been content to leave the investigation of the indigenous populations of North America to the anthropologists.

The Indian minority in Canada differs from most other ethnic or "racial" minorities in two significant respects. First; the majority live in small communities or on reserves, both relatively separated from the urban mainstream of Canadian society.[1] Second; as a number of authors have noted,[2] Indians have generally been less acculturated into the material and value system of the dominant, white North American society than have other minorities. Each of these areas of difference between Indians and other identifiable minorities has contributed in part to the scarcity of sociological investigation; yet both should have spurred research.

Nevertheless, there has been demonstrated in recent years an increasing awareness of the difficulties which face the Indian population of Canada in adjusting or responding to the continual encroachment of a modern, industrialized, rapidly changing and white-dominated society. This awareness has occurred and has been demonstrated on two levels; the level of the general public and the level of academic investigation. In the former case, the Canadian public has been much more frequently confronted by media reports of the situation of Canadian Indians and by increasing coverage of Indian activities. Proposed policy changes by the Canadian Federal Government and Indian reaction to these moves have been especially important in increasing public awareness.[3] This awakening on the part of the Canadian people has been particularly noted by E. J. Dosman in the introduction to "Indians: The Urban Dilemma".

> Tolerant, prosperous and smug Canada has awakened to a racial problem and is painfully adjusting to a historical sin. In the last decade, citizens, academics, and officialdom have become increasingly concerned about the condition of the half-million Indians and Metis in the country. Feeding on a new demand, the mass media have given much attention to the so-called 'Indian problem'.

In the latter case, academic awareness and investigation has stemmed in part from the aforementioned overall concern with minorities in North America, in part from the increased general public awareness, and in part from the actions of Indians themselves who have increasingly sought technical expertise in organizational development and the like. Academic involvement has not been restricted to the social sciences but has encompassed virtually all disciplines.

However, despite this growing awareness, the vast majority of Canadians have never interacted socially with Indians, have never visited an Indian reserve or community, know little of Indian culture apart from the Hollywood movie portrayals, and in general have remained apathetic toward Indian social and economic problems.

This study was undertaken with two specific purposes in mind. In the first place, it was to be a sociological investigation of the current situation of the Indian people in one particular area of Canada, utilizing participant observation techniques, and the evolution of that situation including Indian relationships with the institutions and representatives of the dominant white society.[5] It was felt that the drastic and sweeping changes occurring as a result of white intrusion into the Canadian North would have had continuing effects on the Indian people and organizations.[6] Accordingly it was decided to delineate these relationships and effects and to examine the responses made to them by the Indian population. More specifically, the purpose was to examine the type and direction of change in various realms of social life, the political, economic and educational institutions in particular; the related changes in intergroup relations; and the degree and extent of conflict involved in these changes. In the second place, and concurrently, it was to be an examination of the utility of the theory of Marginal Man as it may be applied to contemporary situations of majority-minority group relations.

With respect to the Indian peoples, this study focused on those in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area of the Northwest Territories and attempted to examine, in as broad a perspective as possible, the many facets of Indian-white relationships and the difficulties which face the Indian people in the future. While the Fort Rae Dogrib[7] band was the major centre of interest, this population also included a number of Slaves, Chipewyans, Dogribs and Yellowknifes encountered in Yellowknife.

The many difficulties of such a study are readily apparent; linguistic and cultural differences between the Indians and the investigator, the effects of geographical isolation and associated travel and communication problems, and the danger of attempting to extrapolate beyond the limits of the study. Many of the problems faced by Indians in this area were similar to those encountered by other Indian peoples throughout Canada and therefore, many of the observations and conclusions could easily pertain to other situations. But, as will be demonstrated, many facets of the situation under investigation were almost unique and an attempt has accordingly been made to differentiate the unique from the common wherever possible.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES[8]

The area of Canada now known as the Northwest Territories is a vast and, for the most part, extremely sparsely populated region. It stretches from the Yukon border in the west to Hudson Bay in the east and from the northern borders of the prairie provinces to the Arctic Ocean. It is a region which has frequently been referred to as "the last frontier",[9] and for excellent reasons. The climate and geography combine to make it an exceptionally harsh land in which survival, in the past at least, has been precarious. The winters are long and cold and the summers are short and none too warm. Even with all the amenities of modern civilization that are available now, many who arrive new to the North do not remain long; although this seems to be as much a product of isolation as climate.

The combined effect of climatic and geographic factors, a short growing season and the nature of much of the land itself, make all but very limited cultivation of foodstuffs impractical in most areas. Massive rock outcroppings which emerge from the muskeg and the permafrost which exists throughout much of the Territories add their own barriers to settlement, communications and cultivation. Travel in the North, until the advent of highways, was predominantly by water and later by air with land travel restricted to the winter months. As a result of these difficulties, the people of the Northwest Territories, especially the white population, is now quite dependent on the "south" for many essential goods and services.

But people have been living throughout this remote region for centuries, and the total resident population has been increasing every year.[10] The native inhabitants, the Indians and the Inuit, had learned to live off the natural flora and fauna of the region and had developed organizational structures which facilitated their survival. However, while the terrain and climate have combined to be inhospitable toward the population and toward development, they have proven to be surmountable barriers in the search for new sources of wealth and energy by modern industrial man.

That there is considerable wealth in the Northwest Territories is becoming more and more obvious as exploration continues. In the not too distant past the wealth of furs and the lure of discovery drew the white man to the North; the traders and the explorers. In the more recent past it was the lure of gold that brought white men by the thousands, prospectors and miners, into the North. Now, it is the powerful magnet of energy resources, oil and natural gas[11] which draws new population from the rest of Canada and indeed from the world. The exploration parties, which once depended heavily on the knowledge of the native Indians and Inuit, now have the ability to reach independently into the most remote and inhospitable areas. With the aid of modern technology, particularly in the fields of housing and transportation, the new exploiters can live and work for extended periods of time with the maximum of comfort and minimum of hardship.

Cities have been created in the Northwest Territories to serve and administer the area, its population and its development; cities which have most of the amenities of larger urban centres in the "south". In Yellowknife, Fort Smith and Hay River, one can find new suburban-type housing developments which would not be out of place in Toronto or Edmonton. Most of the towns or settlements came into existence many years ago, but then only as small outposts involved in the then flourishing trade for the once plentiful fur resources. Now the most important reason for their rapid growth[12] is the expanding exploration of oil, gas and mineral resources and the accompanying administrative, communication and supply networks.

Three major identifiable population groupings are to be found in the Northwest Territories: the Inuit, the Indians and the whites; although only the last two groups are included in this study. In absolute numbers, Indians constitute a relatively small proportion of the Canadian population; 218,098[13] of a total population of over twenty million people. This figure refers only to registered Indians and does not include an estimated 400,000 or more additional persons of Indian ancestry in Canada.[14]

The situation in the Northwest Territories is markedly different from the national picture, however, although increasing in-migration of non-Indians may change this in the near future. The population of the Northwest Territories, according to a Territorial government publication,[15] was approximately 5,760 Indians, 10,278 Inuit and 13,202 listed as "others" (non-natives but including Metis). Therefore, it can be seen that of the total estimated population of the Northwest Territories, 29,243, some 19.7% are Indian: a percentage which is considerably greater than that of Canada as a whole. Indeed, when the total population of the Northwest Territories is considered, it is the non-native population which is in the minority.

However, regardless of the relative size of the white and native populations in the North, the whites in the Northwest Territories are in a position vis-a-vis the Indians which differs little from the same relationship in other parts of Canada. That is to say, virtually all power and authority positions, political, economic and social, are held by whites. Many of the people who hold such power positions in the Territories are also relative newcomers to the North.[16]

When considering the important power relationships in the Northwest Territories, an additional factor must be taken into consideration. That is, a considerable portion of the real power and authority in the North is exercised from external centres and by external interests. The Federal Government in Ottawa, particularly the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and business interests in the "south", both in Canada and the United States, exercise a great deal of control over development and decision-making whether in the political, economic or social spheres. However, the sources of power and authority of course do not basically alter the subordinate and often dependent relationship of the Indians with the whites. This exists whether the source is the Territorial Government in Yellowknife, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Ottawa, or a mining or exploration company with its head office in Toronto, Montreal or New York.

The recently formed Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories is the major exception to this general rule of powerlessness and dependency. The Brotherhood has attempted to unify the ideas and actions of the Treaty Indian people in the Territories in order to present a consistent and organized front to both Territorial and Federal levels of Government. Although the greater proportion of the Brotherhood's funds are derived from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,[17] it has consistently maintained an independent stance in its dealings with both private and public institutions and officials.

SUMMARY

A number of significant areas of contrast can be noted in the Northwest Territories and in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in particular. Many of these contrasts stem, either directly or indirectly, from the fact that the representatives of two different traditions or cultures have come into permanent contact there. Contrasts, for example, are visible between extremes of wealth and poverty, between seismological exploration lines and traplines, between Indian band councils and government bureaucracies supported by computers, and between an eroding Indian way of life and an expanding modern industrial society.

Until fairly recently, few Indians from the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area had been outside the Northwest Territories, with the exception of those who were taken to hospital in Edmonton for treatment of tuberculosis. For most, therefore, Yellowknife was the largest town they had seen, and the non-Indians of Yellowknife and Fort Rae were the primary visible representatives of the larger Canadian society and its institutions. However, improved communication facilities, travel in the "south", contacts with provincial and national Indian organizations etc., have created a new awareness among the Indian people of the North. The contrasts that exist between Indians and whites have become more visible as a result. There has been a lessening of passive acceptance of existing conditions in the areas of education, government administration, exploration and exploitation and so on. Instead there has been a marked increase in requests and demands for change; change in the educational, occupational and administrative structures, and change in the attitudes and orientations of both whites and Indians. This study examines, in historical perspective, some of these areas of change and their results.

CHAPTER I - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1 In 1965, approximately 85%, (184,316), of the Indians in Canada lived either on reserves or on crown land. Indian Affairs - Facts and Figures, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1967.

2 Havighurst, R.J., "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 311, (May, 1957), pp. 105-115.

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3 Examples of this have been Citizens Plus, by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta, and The Unjust Society by H. Cardinal; both responses to the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969. Of later concern has been the series of court battles over the James Bay Hydro Project in Quebec.

4 Dosman, E.J., Indians: The Urban Dilemma, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972, p. 7.

5 Vallee, F.G., in "The Emerging Northern Mosaic", (chapter 7 in R. Ossenberg (ed.), Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict), has clearly pointed to the necessity of thus examining the situation of native peoples within the total social context.

6 A number of authors have discussed aspects of this impact on northern Indians and Inuit. See, for example:

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Usher, P.J., The Bankslanders: Economy and Ecology of a Frontier Trapping Community, 3 Vols., Ottawa, Information Canada, 1970 and 1971.

7 In the literature, Dogrib is spelled in a number of ways: Dogrib, Dog-rib, or Dog Rib. To be consistent, it will be spelled Dogrib throughout the text unless one of the other spellings is used in a quotation.

8 Specific information concerning the geography, climte and ecology of the Northwest Territories is contained in Appendix A.

9 For an eloquent statement of this position, see R.G. Robertson, "The Long Gaze", in I.N. Smith, (ed.), The Unbelievable Land, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1966, pp. 133-139.

10 The overall population of the Northwest Territories almost doubled between 1961 (14,895) and 1966 (28,738). Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Bulletin A-1, 1966. In 1971, the population was 34,805: Eskimo - 11,400; Native Indian - 7,180; all others - 16, 225, Census of Canada, 1971.

11 The Annual Report, 1969-1970, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, gives a fairly detailed account of the increases in exploration, exploitation and development of oil gas and mineral resources in the Northwest Territories.

12

	1951[a]	1956[b]	1961[c]	1966[d]	1971[e]
Yellowknife	2,724	3,100	1,245	3,741	6,122
Hay River	792	942	1,681	2,002	2,406
Fort Smith	---	495	1,681	2,120	2,364

a and b	Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census Bulletin, 1.1-10
c	Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. 1(1-7)
d	Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Census Bulletin, 1.1-6
e	Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. 1; Bulletin 1.1-2

13 Indian Affairs - Facts and Figures, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967, p. 2.

14 An estimate based on personal correspondence with Dr. H. Adams, President of the Metis Association of Saskatchewan.

15 Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1967-1968, p. 59.

16 Many of this latter group would fit into F. Vallee's category of "new Northerners". F. Vallee, op. cit.

17 For example, a "per capita grant" of $6,086 was made to the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories in 1968-1969 for "organizational and operating expenses". An additional $16,800 was provided "to facilitate discussion and consultation in connection with proposals for policies and programs for Indian people". Annual Report, 1969-1970, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, pp. 162-163.

CHAPTER II

MARGINAL MAN THEORY, CULTURE CONFLICT AND CHANGE

THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENTS OF MARGINAL MAN THEORY

At different times, certain identifiable and socially distinguishable groups of people have been typified by the dominant controlling groups as occupying peripheral and subordinate positions in societies. The Jews, for historical, cultural and religious reasons, are a notable example of this characterization. Indeed, when referring to the Jews in this respect, their characterization has often assumed stereotypical proportions generally accepted by members of the self-defined dominant group. Thorstein Veblen[1] and Georg Simmel[2] were among the first sociologists to examine this facet of inter-group relationships, each using the Jews as an example.

Simmel takes the position that the person placed in such a peripheral position is a "potential wanderer"; a person who is at one and the same time in the society but not of the society.[3] The term which he applies to the type of person occupying this nebulous position with respect to the dominant group is that of the "stranger".[4]

> The stranger, like the poor and like sundry 'inner enemies', is an element of the group itself. His position, as a full fledged member involves being outside it, and confronting it.[5]

In this Simmel shows a recognition of both the wealth and power dimensions of such social positioning, although he does not explicitly deal with them. Simmel's "stranger" is typically the

European Jewish trader; persons placed in their particular position by the exigencies of political and social circumstances.[6]

In analyzing Simmel's concept of the "stranger", it becomes clear that while the stranger may have been on the social periphery, he did have a definite position in the social structure, generally defined as subordinate. S.D. McLemore[7] has attempted to clear up some of the misunderstandings in terminology and conceptualization which have emerged as a result of a lack of clear elaboration of the concept of the "stranger" in Simmel's work. He concludes that "--there is reason to believe that in modern thought the 'stranger' is hardly more than a special case of the marginal man--",[8] and particularly notes the emphasis that Simmel places on the structural positioning of such persons in society.[9]

Thorstein Veblen also clearly recognizes the position of these peripheral persons in society and, as Simmel, uses the Jews in Europe as his example. Although not discussing the underlying causes at any length, he does present a clear picture of their position and elaborates on the conflicts that inevitably emerge as a result of such structural positioning.[10] Of importance in Veblen's analysis is the recognition of a relationship between cultural aspects, religion in this case, and structural differentiation. In the interrelationships of these two variables, culture and structure, the conflicts within each group, and between them, can be seen as emergent. The resolution of these conflicts would be, by following Veblen's reasoning, disproportionately if not completely determined by the dominant group in the society.

Both Simmel and Veblen point to the dualistic nature of the position occupied by such individuals and the resulting conflicts with the dominant group. Each recognizes the importance of historical and cultural variables which contribute to such positioning and conflict although neither deals specifically with the major related factors of wealth and power differentiation.

Study of the phenomenon of the "stranger", or as it has been more generally referred to, the "marginal man" gained further interest in 1921. It was in that year that selections from the works of W. Sombart[11] and Georg Simmel[12] dealing with aspects of this topic were included in Park and Burgess' Introduction to the Science of Sociology.[13] It was however not until 1928 that the term "marginal man" was used in the literature specifically as a description of the individual or group occupying the above type of situation.[14] The term was not only applied by R.E. Park to a type of individual and to a particular personality type, but also was used to delineate a specific set of circumstances in which it occurred.

Park was obviously intrigued by the large numbers of immigrants who at that time were moving to the urban centres of the United States. This was, for Park, a unique opportunity to examine the processes of such human migrations and their results, especially the effects upon individuals.[15]

However, most of these migrant groups were moving in varying degrees toward assimilation, either by choice or by reason of pressures from the dominant group. Groups who defined themselves as being different or who were deliberately excluded by the dominant group, Blacks and Indians for example, are generally not considered by Park in this discussion. Such groups have ultimately responded to their situation by means of positive self-recognition and emphasis of their differences.

Park's primary concern was with the personality type that he saw emerging from the assimilation-oriented migration; in other words, with the changes that occurred in the mind of the marginal man. He utilized Simmel's concept of the "stranger" in his conceptualization of the position of the marginal man in the social structure[16] but, given the general assimilationist orientation, did not really consider the problem of inter-group conflicts. Instead, he attributed to the marginal man a potential for inventiveness and creativity; desirable qualities, from the perspective of the dominant group, which emerged as a result of his particular relationship with society.[17]

The contribution of Park to the marginal man theory, apart from the ideas about marginal personality, stemmed from his generalized recognition that the marginal man occupies a peculiar position in a changing social situation. His position was that of "---a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused".[18] The processes of migration bring the "two cultures" and the "two societies" into contact and the aspects of marginality examined by Park stem from the ambiguities of the migrant's position in the situation with respect to the existing dominant group.

In a later elaboration, Park states that: "The marginal man is a personality type that arises at a time and place, where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new peoples and new cultures are coming into existence".[19] While this indicates that he recognized the importance of specific types of situations as being instrumental in producing the marginal man, his discussion of the conflicts in the situations tended to revolve around personality or mental conflict. The various changes in social relationships which he saw as being inherent in situations such as migration have the effect of releasing the individual from the checks and controls of tradition. The result, as he attempted to demonstrate, is a variety of cross-pressures which, when exerted on the individual, produce marginality.[20]

The influence of Park's ideas, as well as of the time, can be clearly seen in Louis Wirth's study, The Ghetto.[21] In this discussion, the Jew was again used as a prime example of a man on the periphery of society. Wirth however is rather explicit in his analysis of this social phenomenon. The Jew, in his opinion, was a man who interacted in two worlds, the world of the ghetto and the dominant society outside the ghetto. In effect, the Jew in this position was caught in the historical, social, and religious conflicts that have been created between these two worlds; a completely integrated member of neither.[22] In Wirth's estimation, the Jew, and the Jew of the ghetto in particular, was subjected to the marginality-producing cross-pressures that Park described. In discussing the factors which contribute to this situation, Wirth states that: "All the devices that operated to keep the Jew apart, at the same time made him crave contacts that were taboo".[23]

It was not until the mid-nineteen thirties that the phenomenon of the marginal man was explored in a more thorough fashion by E.V. Stonequist.[24] In his work, Stonequist draws rather heavily on earlier authors, Park in particular, as the following passage demonstrates.

> So the marginal man as conceived in this study is one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry, (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations.[25]

Despite the over-emphasis that Stonequist places upon the "psychological" effects of marginality, he does note that dominant-subordinate relationships are often involved in such situations. Although he does not explore this to any extent, he does identify two general types of situations in which particular social relationships produce the "marginal type of personality".[26] These are (a) the situation involving cultural differences between groups of people and (b), the situation in which the differences are symbolized according to "racial" or other such definitions held by the dominant group.[27] The degree to which such differences are related to aspects of relative domination and subordination or to power and wealth differentials is not explored although it would seem to be an important element of any such discussion.

The work of Park and Stonequist in this connection shows not only the influence of Simmel but also the time and circumstances in which they wrote. They reflect the overwhelming early orientation of the Chicago school toward assimilation and the generally assimilationist and often racist "Americanization" sentiments of the period. In the type of situation where only cultural differences were involved, these assimilationist pressures did not always succeed uniformly and the early ideas of marginality provided an acceptable explanation of their failure in terms of cultural duality. In the second type of situation described by Stonequist, the use of the concept of marginality avoided the problems of dealing with the implications and realities of class and power differentials by fitting an explanation within existing ideas of "race" and racial inferiority-superiority. This racist orientation, particularly Park's notion of the "racial hybrid",[28] is further demonstrated in the studies conducted by W.C. Smith[29] and P.F. Cressey[30] focusing on "racial intermixtures" in Hawaii and India; situations which might have been more realistically examined in terms of power and class. This general orientation may be clearly seen in Stonequist's statement that:

> The clearest, or most obvious marginal types are those who culturally belong to the dominant group but who are racially members of the subordinate group.[31]

DIVERGENCE IN THE THEORY OF MARGINAL MAN

As discussed above, early attempts to examine and utilize marginal man theory tended to focus on the marginal man as: 1, a "racial hybrid"; 2, a unique personality type; and 3, some combination of these two. These efforts also showed that the situation in which such individuals are found involves overt or covert conflicts at either the group or individual level. Despite the fact that the factor of inter-group conflict was largely ignored, the early studies point to two major aspects involved in the development of the concept. The first aspect, and the one that has been most consistently examined, is that of the marginal personality. This involves consideration of the psychological effects of a situation of inter-group contact upon the individual. The second aspect, potentially more significant although less attention was paid to it, is that of the situation in which marginality occurs.

A major approach to the latter has involved the definition of the situation in which marginality occurs as one which involves conflict between the representatives of two different, often drastically divergent, cultures. M.M. Goldberg speculates that the end product of this type of situation may be the creation of a "marginal culture".[32] Such a "marginal culture" is seen by Goldberg as encompassing a situation without necessarily implying individual or "psychological" marginality. He argues that a person who participates primarily with others of marginal status "is not a true marginal individual in the defined sense, but a participant member of a marginal culture, every bit as real and complete to him as is the nonmarginal culture to the nonmarginal man".[33] However, he does not fully examine the pressures or particular circumstances which contribute to the formation of the "marginal status" of the participants in the "marginal culture".

Margaret Wood[34] also attempts to demonstrate the importance of cultural conflicts, although the use of the notion of the "hybrid" as a marginal man shows the continuation of racist overtones. She does however relate marginality to social and economic domination and a changing marginal situation to changes in the dominant power group and associated orientations toward the subordinate group.[35] A.W. Green[36] in a more specific manner attempts to delineate the relationship between marginality and culture conflict and postulates that "culture conflict and differential assimilation are the basic factors in creating the marginal situation".[37] Despite the recognition of a "marginal situation", he does not expand further on the idea to any significant degree.

Following Stonequist[38] he elaborates on a particular type of marginality.

> The extreme type of marginality appears in one who participates extensively and intimately in the culture of the dominant group, and is then rejected.[39]

His argument is weakened by continuing assimilationist overtones: an assumption that marginality emerges as a result of the desire on the part of the subordinate group members for full integration into the dominant group. He points, for example, to linguistic change as illustrative of assimilation and therefore a factor in reducing marginality.[40] In this regard, R. Pieris points to a factor that Green overlooks or ignores; that is that linguistic change may often be imposed on a subordinate group by a dominant group for its own purposes.

> It is not surprising, therefore, that an invading group wishing to impose its culture on a conquered people, frequently attempts to propagate its language as a vehicle of that culture.[41]

In his analysis of foremen in industry, D.E. Wray[42] holds that their position, with cross-pressures from both unions and management relating to a basic power struggle, is decidedly marginal. The position is seen as being a marginal one created by its intermediacy in the power conflict between union and management. His argument would have been strengthened by a clearer elaboration of the distinction between the position or status of foreman and the role that the foreman plays in such a position. Wray's emphasis on the power-related aspects of marginality denotes a gain in clarity of the concept by moving beyond the spurious "race"-related arguments.

D.I. Golovensky[43] views marginality as being the result of cultural cross-pressures between dominant and minority groups. He rejects the argument of a specific "marginal personality" type and points to the fact that what is often described as marginality may indeed be the result of voluntary and conscious rejection of assimilation pressures. With reference to the Jews in the United States, traditionally viewed as marginal, he notes that:

> The greater number want - not are condemned - to live simultaneously in two civilizations, the

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> Jewish and the American. Their marginality is a positively-valued stimulus and vehicle to creative living and cultural cross-fertilization.[44]

A number of other attempts have been made to utilize marginal man theory in the examination of specific inter-group situations.[45] In each instance, there is reference to the position of marginality being defined by the actions and/or orientations of the dominant groups although the underlying power-related conflicts between them and the group defined as marginal are not specifically discussed.

Although the various inter-group situations mentioned above have been seen as marginal or have been assumed to be marginal, the emphasis of investigation has been upon the effects of their marginal position upon individual group members. Insufficient attention has been directed toward the underlying causes of the hierarchical domination of one group over another that is usually involved. That is to say, the specific factors involved in the creation of a marginal situation have been incompletely investigated, as have the effects of the continuation of the situation on the groups involved and their relationships with each other. It can be reasonably assumed that marginal situations of this sort stem from conflicts created by the imposition of a dominant-subordinate relationship by one group over another. It can also be assumed therefore that the continuation or attempted resolutions of such situations by the subordinated group will also involve conflict. In this light, more specific and realistic attention should be paid to the causal factors involved, the specifics of the situation, and the consequences of such situations.

THE MARGINAL SITUATION

More recent developments in the marginal man theory have involved discussion of the marginal situation as the focus of investigation. Three basic conceptual changes, or changes in orientation, are associated with this general attempt to bring marginal man theory more in line with social reality. The first such change involves distinguishing between the examination of individuals in terms of "marginal personality" and the examination of specific facets of inter-group relations in the situation. In early research, the hierarchical relationship between the groups is either ignored or taken for granted leading to a rather narrow discussion of the effects of such situations.

The second change is seen in an increasing recognition that conflict of one type or another is inherent in marginality. Originally, the conflict was seen in the mind of marginal man; the idea of psychological marginality. There is, in discussions of the marginal situation, considerably more emphasis placed on the examination of inter-group conflict in the contact situation. Situations of conflict between groups in a dominant-subordinate relationship, especially when cultural differences are involved, are seen as being closely related to elements of actual or potential marginality.

The third change is related to discussion of the means whereby a dominant group perpetuates its position with respect to the subordinate group. This has involved the conceptualization of a barrier or barriers existing between the group or individuals considered to be marginal and the dominant elites of the larger society. Such barriers may have geographical, physiological, cultural, historical or other dimensions but really symbolize the prime areas of conflict or potential conflict. In this light, they are therefore key contributing factors in the development of a marginal situation. With growing recognition that marginality involves a complex dominant-subordinate relationship, the barriers of the marginal situation are a major part of the definition of this relationship.

A.C. Kerckhoff and T.C. McCormick[46] approach this idea from the general perspective of reference group theory. They note that distinctions should be made between "being in a marginal position" and "developing psychological symptoms of marginality"; the latter being not necessarily coincident with the former. Through a study of Indian children, they attempt to clarify these differences.

In their opinion, those who may be considered marginal in a society occupy a particular position between a dominant and a subordinate group. These are almost invariably from the subordinate group which itself has a position defined and perpetuated by the dominant group.[47] They also reason that this "marginal status" exists, not only between two groups, one dominant and the other subordinate, but also between "two incompatible social categories".[48]

Kerckhoff and McCormick define the marginal man as "one who used a non-membership group as a reference group", but explicitly state that "there are forces preventing him from making his reference group a membership group".[49] These are aspects of the barrier imposed by the dominant group between itself and the subordinate group. The barrier should not be seen, however, as absolute or immutable, but as being of varying permeability. That is, the barrier or segments of it may be differentially imposed depending on whether or not the dominant group perceives a potential threat to its power in any particular area. Thus while the barrier exists for the entire subordinate group, the ease with which it might be penetrated depends on the individual case.[50] Put more realistically, this depends on the dominant elite's perception of individual acculturation, from either direct or indirect processes, and the potential threat created by a relaxation of the barrier or by an attack upon the barrier.

Additional support is given to the examination of the structural and cultural components of the marginal situation by A. Antonovsky,[51] who, in his analysis, devotes particular attention to the barriers involved. He lists seven characteristics of a marginal situation; the first attempt to define and delimit it.[52] In his discussion of the barriers and their operation, however, the importance of the power differentials he mentions in connection with the marginal situation, especially in examination of the associated conflicts, is not explored.

D. Nelkin,[53] in an examination of migrant farm workers, notes the importance of the barriers "established by the dominant society" as well as the factor of relative isolation of the subordinate group in contributing to marginality.[54] These latter two analyses indicate a growing but incomplete emphasis upon the examination of the power relationships, particularly the power of the dominant group to enforce or relax the barriers between themselves and the subordinate group.

H.F. Dickie-Clark attempts to conceptually separate the concept of the marginal personality from the concept of the marginal situation.[55] In recognizing the hierarchical nature of many social situations and the importance of such hierarchical power relationships in interpersonal relations, particularly those that have been deemed marginal, he makes an important contribution to the theory of marginal man.

> Many social situations contain an element of unequal ranking and can be thought of in hierarchical terms. The marginal situations in the literature on marginality are of this kind.[56]

The idea of hierarchically based inter-group relations forms the base for his analysis of the marginal situation per se and for his study of a Cape-Coloured population in South Africa. In this study he examines the effects of being forced to live in a subordinate position, as well as the causal factors, on the behaviour and attitudes of marginal group members and on the marginal group as a whole.[57]

There are, according to Dickie-Clark, four main factors that distinguish, define, and delimit the marginal situation. The first and basic factor, as has already been noted, is that of a hierarchical ordering of various distinguishable social groups in a society. Groups, although perhaps distinguishable from others, would not be considered marginal if they occupy the same or similar status in the hierarchy. The second determining factor is the number of discrete and identifiable strata in the social hierarchy, whatever the basis of ordering. The presence of more than two strata in a given situation complicates the discussion of marginality in that a particular group could potentially have both superordinate and subordinate groups in relation to itself.

The third delimiting factor is the degree and range of power held by the dominant stratum and the extent to which this power is exercised over the subordinate strata or stratum. This is considered important in that the dominant group, if sufficiently powerful, would be predominantly responsible for the determination of the variables involved in the fourth criterion, although perhaps not solely. This fourth determining feature of a marginal situation is the nature of the barriers that exist, or have been imposed, between dominant and subordinate strata. Examined from a slightly different point of view, this refers to the various criteria which define membership in a given stratum and which, to a greater or lesser degree, determine the type of barriers and potential conflict that would be involved.[58]

The crucial criteria in determining marginality, and thus in examining the marginal situation, are these latter two; the power of groups or strata to define group membership and maintain the hierarchical relationship and thereby define and control the barriers between groups, and the nature of such barriers and their operation once established. If the barriers are complete, that is in no way permeable, no marginal situation can exist.

> Broadly, it is felt that where barriers are complete, marginal situations cannot occur; that complete exclusion and complete inclusion are

incompatible with the notion of marginality.[59]

Hierarchical situations, if they are to be considered as marginal, must involve incomplete or permeable barriers. In such cases, the subordinate group or stratum would have, potentially at least, a degree of access to some of the rights and powers of the dominant group,[60] forming the basis for possible conflicts to emerge between them. A conclusion that may be made on the basis of the foregoing is that marginality and the marginal situation in particular is predicated upon the existence of power differentials between hierarchically ordered groups and actual or potential conflict between them stemming from these differences.

MARGINALITY, CONFLICT AND CHANGE

In spite of the conceptual differences which have been characteristic of the literature on marginality, it is apparent that most of the studies have an identifiable underlying common denominator; although it has not always been regarded as important. This common denominator and recurring theme in the literature and the conceptualizations of marginality is the idea of conflict. In most cases, the use of the concept of marginality or marginal man has involved an overt or covert attempt to understand or explain the symbols or appearances of conflicts between individuals and/or groups in societies.

Park writes of the "breakdown of social order" in the processes of migration, although he interprets these changes and associated conflicts from the assimilationist point of view mentioned earlier and predicts an ultimate "fusion of native with alien peoples".[61] His marginal man exists as the result of the conflict that occurs when peoples of different "races" or cultures come together. Stonequist also notes similar differences and subsequent problems in the contact situation which, according to him, produce marginality. Like Park as well, he views the marginal man as a personality type produced as a result of the conflicts between the representatives of such different groups in lasting contact:[62] and is subject to similar criticism. These early approaches however, do see conflict, particularly what is described as culture conflict, as being the basis of marginality, an idea that has been carried through and elaborated on in subsequent literature.

In some instances, especially those later theoretical elaborations of the concept of marginality, conflict has been a particularly important factor in the argument. Green[63] and Golovensky[64] have both noted that the factor of culture conflict is basic to the concept of the marginal situation and to examinations of such situations. Kerckhoff and McCormick[65] and Antonovsky[66] pay particular attention to the idea of conflict in the marginal situation and expand on this with specific emphasis on the dominant-subordinate hierarchical relationships involved in such situations. In other instances, the use of a conflict frame of reference or the concept of conflict itself is much more implicit in discussions of marginality.

Some, like Smith[67] and Cressey,[68] follow ideas similar to those of Park and Stonequist and make the same types of errors in their studies. In other studies, the subjects chosen for examination are representative of major areas of conflict or potential conflict in society. Religious groups and the associated beliefs and attitudes are examined in this context by Fichter[69] and Liu.[70] Both authors are concerned with the effects of particular institutional structures and corresponding belief configurations on the individuals concerned. In each case, specific attention is paid to the problems of those individuals who are placed in a situation which makes it necessary to resolve differences between essentially competing institutional and belief structures.

Another area of conflict that has been discussed in the marginal man literature is that of role conflict although little attention is paid to the class and power-related aspects of roles in the analyses. In studies of this nature by Nelkin,[71] Bock,[72] Menzel,[73] Wardwell,[74] and Wray,[75] the groups which are considered to be marginal in one way or another are seen as such because of conflicts inherent in the roles that they play in society. Such roles and the ensuing situations of role conflict are seen as marginal because of either the peripheral nature of the role itself as defined by a dominant group,[76] the particular position of a role in a hierarchical structure,[77] or a combination of both factors.[78] The classic areas of conflict, those involving class[79] and caste[80] have also been examined, albeit incompletely, with respect to the marginality of the groups involved in such situations.

All of the above-mentioned writers, however, may be criticized for understating or neglecting the core element of class in group conflicts. The most general mistake in this connection is the camouflaging of class-related elements in situations with the more general concept of cultural differences.

Marginal situations are most commonly observed when there is some degree of conflicting group membership and the importance of such conflict in the discussion of these situations is noted by L. Coser.[81] The recognition by Coser of the importance of such situations in affecting the larger social structure, and the corresponding implications for subsequent change, points to the wider implications of marginality that have been largely ignored in the literature. But even Coser, like most of the specific discussants of marginality, avoids a clear and open discussion of class in such conflict situations.

In the early literature on marginal man, and in some later studies as well, the discussion of conflict has been generally restricted to "psychological conflicts" that have been felt to exist in the minds of men thus defined as marginal. As has been pointed out, there is some recognition that such conflicts stem from particular social relationships; inter-group marriage, migration, and culture conflicts for example. However, such social conflicts, to say nothing of the neglected discussion of class conflict, are not exhaustively explored because of a preoccupation with the resultant or emergent marginal individuals and personality types. Such personality types, involving conflict at a psychological level, are sometimes deemed to produce creative persons and cultural innovators. However, the ramifications of the effects of these individuals or groups on the larger social system are generally not examined.

In much of the later literature in the area of marginal man theory, there is a shift in focus and emphasis with respect to conflict and the importance of the concept. There is growing recognition that conflicts in social, interpersonal and especially inter-group relationships ought to be much more thoroughly examined with respect to their relationship with marginality. Increasing recognition has been given to the conflicts of marginal situations, conflicts which occur as a result of particular hierarchically structured dominant-subordinate relationships and which have effects on both the individuals and groups involved, and their relationship with one another.

Viewed in this manner then, there are two main aspects of conflict related to marginality and marginal man theory to be found in the literature. On the one hand, there is the basic conflict at the individual level, a psychological conflict, with associated assumption of marginal personality types. While there is a recognition in both theoretical and substantive segments of the literature that such conflicts involve particular social relationships and group processes, the focus is primarily toward an individualistic and psychological conceptualization of marginality, and its application and interpretation. On the other hand, there is the conceptualization of marginality which has as a primary concern, not individualistic conflict but the conflicts existing between hierarchically ordered groups or strata. While there is evident concern for the effects of such marginality on individuals, it is in the area of inter-group relations that explanations are sought. The primary conflict in these cases is inter-group conflict; conflict involving ethnic groups, cultural groups, occupational groups and social classes, although the latter is not extensively explored.

However, as has been illustrated, while the concept of conflict is both explicitly and implicitly an integral part of marginal man theory, the importance of this concept in the analysis of the structural components of the situation has not been significantly explored or fully utilized. This is especially true when the marginal situations under investigation involve conflicts originating in the perceptions or the realities of cultural and class differences between the groups involved. In the literature, conflict, whatever its origin or nature is more often than not assumed to be merely a part of the marginal situation as a whole; a contributing factor in the creation of a marginal situation and in the emergence of marginal man.

The wider implications of conflict in the study of marginality and the marginal situation offer significant scope for continued investigation. In the area of the marginal situation in particular, some of these implications are noted, although they are not exhaustively examined. Pressures for change in the existing structure of social relationships, including culture and political and economic institutions, are among the most significant of such implications. Cressey,[82] Pieris,[83] Smith,[84] and Golovensky,[85] all indicate that a major result of marginal situations could be the possible emergence of innovative structural or institutional developments. Wardwell[86] and Bock[87] indicate as well the potential implications of marginal situations and the conflicts involved in them for the extent to which pressures for change and elaboration of existing structural arrangements become a part of such situations.

It is quite evident therefore, that in a study of marginality or of a marginal situation, the notion of conflict should be central rather than peripheral and as such should be much more thoroughly and explicitly investigated. By and large, the studies that have utilized marginal man theory in their investigations, particularly those that have focused on the notion of the marginal situation, have ceased examination of the conflicts involved once the situation itself is defined and delimited. The major result has been the neglect of investigation into the effects of such conflicts on the larger social system of which the marginal situation is but one inter-group relationship. In a similar fashion, the effects on the relationships between the groups involved and between the segments of these groups has been neglected except for the specific relationships defined as being involved in the marginal situation. In other words, most of the research has been limited to discussion of particular individuals or groups with much less attention being paid to the possible wider consequences. The ramifications of conflict in marginal situations seem thus to extend far beyond the immediate parties involved and beyond immediate resolutions of either the conflict, the state of marginality or both.

Emergent social conflict of any type involves or necessitates a variety of important aspects of change or readjustment in the social system in which the conflict occurs. These changes have been noted in the areas of technology and culture[88] but, often of greater significance have been the concurrent changes in the structural dynamics of social systems.[89] These areas of change, especially those involving innovation and structural dynamics, and their relationship with the conflicts inherent in marginal situations, have been most neglected in the literature. Just as the implications of conflict in this type of situation extend beyond the immediate situation, so also must the resolutions, outcomes or adjustments to the conflict be sought and examined in parts of the social system beyond the immediate confrontations, as well as in the situation itself.

In marginal situations in which the cultural differences between groups of people are of major importance, the conflicts involved will be most intense in the areas of core values, beliefs and customs, and in regard to wealth and power. A great deal of the conflict will be centered on definitions of respective group inferiority and superiority, on differential access to wealth and power, and on associated attitude and behavior patterns directed at the rectification of these differences.

In the studies examined, however, a major key to the complexity of the conflict and hence to the complexity of the marginal situation, has been that of the relative power of the groups involved with respect to their relations with each other and in the society as a whole. This incorporates complexity along social, political and economic dimensions. In this context, power is the basic factor in the dominant-subordinate relationship which is a major characteristic of most of the marginal situations noted above. Power, according to M.E. Olsen, is in the broadest sense "the ability to affect social life (social actions, social order, or culture)."[90] Power emerges from the dynamics of social relations and exists within social relationships, not individuals.[91] The relational aspect of power which Olsen refers to is elaborated on by Shibutani and Kwan.

> Actually, the term (power) refers to a social relationship, for there must be two or more parties involved. It is a relationship in which one party is able to enforce its demands on the other.---- Furthermore, power is a reciprocal relationship; it persists only as long as the second party continues to submit. Should the commands be challenged, power relations persist only if the ruler has the capacity to take punitive measures.[92]

These power relationships between groups are hierarchical in nature and the superordinate group can maintain its position as long as it controls "superior economic resources, means of violence and communication channels".[93] Olsen states this use of power in somewhat broader terms.

> Thus the most basic use of social power by organizations is for the protection and perpetuation of boundaries and patterns of social relationships - or the ensuring of internal order.[94]

Both Antonovsky[95] and Dickie-Clark[96] refer specifically to these power and control differentials as being prime characteristics defining a marginal situation. In many cases, power can be seen as a basic factor in determining the resolutions of the conflicts or adjustments made to the conflict and marginality.[97] As used here, the concept of power is relative to the aspects of a particular situation, the relationships between the involved groups and the relationship of the entire situation to the larger social system. Thus, in a specific situation, the use or applicability of the concept of power in the analysis depends on a number of related factors. These include the immediacy of the group wielding power to the situation, the extent to which those wielding power in a given situation are direct holders of power or are the representatives of more remote power structures, and the purposes which underlie the use of power by a group in a particular situation.[98]

The theory of marginal man and the marginal situation, the effects of marginality on individuals, groups and their interrelationships, and the broader long-term consequences of these situations should therefore be considered in the light of these related factors of conflict and power. The exercise of power in intergroup relationships, the type of power involved, the conflicts inherent in a marginal situation and the resolutions or attempted resolutions of such conflicts are all factors intimately associated with the examination of such marginal situations.

When considering marginal man theory from this perspective, and recognizing that marginal situations may be of short or long duration, it is imperative that consideration be given to the historical factors involved in the development of the situation.[99] A marginal situation does not emerge instantaneously, as Dickie-Clark adequately illustrates, but is rather the product of an extended relationship between the particular groups or strara involved.[100] Therefore an analysis of the historical patterns of relations, especially power relations, between the groups now in a situation which might be termed marginal is important in understanding the situation. It is only through such analysis of previous events, the progression of inter-group relations and the precedents of current conflicts, that a marginal situation can be brought into perspective and discussed. Lastly, the concept of conflict is one which must also not be considered as merely one aspect of an isolated situation. Conflict involves continuing pressures for adjustment and adaptation, processes of change and resolution, and re-emergent conflicts.[101] A situation which involves conflict between groups must also be considered in the light of the past relations between them and the conflicts or changes in the conflicts that have been a part of it, as well as the bases of the conflicts.

When such situations are examined in an historical perspective, it is apparent that power bases and power wielders can shift over time, that new conceptions of inter-group relations emerge and supplant the old, that the focus of conflict changes, and that the awareness of those involved of the situation and their position in it varies considerably as other conditions change.[102] All of these factors must therefore be kept in mind when examining marginality, or marginal situations, especially when divergent cultures and wealth and power differentials are involved. Specific aspects of the relationship, once deemed important to either the dominant or the subordinate group may no longer be so considered. Changing perspectives, influenced by changes in the relationships between the groups, may bring new factors to the fore. As such changes occur, the perception of the marginal situation or of particular facets of inter-group relations contributing to the situation, change as well.

CULTURE CONFLICT AND CULTURE CHANGE

Although marginality and various facets of marginal man theory have been examined in a number of different types of situations, the most common type of situation noted in the literature has been that involving cultural differences between the individuals, groups, or strata concerned. The migrant has usually encountered cultural differences of varying degrees of severity as a result of his movement from one society to another.[103] Cultural differences have been noted in situations involving different classes or castes within a society,[104] as well as in those that have resulted from conquest or invasion.[105] Since marginality thus has been so often associated with cultural differences, further analysis should involve discussion of the contributing preconditions of culture contact and culture conflict. In so doing, consideration can be given to the range of changes which result in the areas of social, economic and political relationships, institutions and power structures.

The situations of contact between peoples and groups of different cultural backgrounds, and the often noted conflict that has emerged between them as a result, have occurred in a number of ways. Voluntary migration,[106] involuntary migration,[107] colonization,[108] conquest,[109] and political alliances[110] have all been responsible at one time or another for bringing diverse peoples into close, often long-lasting and sometimes intimate contact with each other. In many cases, it has been the nature of the initial contact that has to a considerable extent determined the subsequent relationships between the groups, although considerable changes can be noted.[111] The relationships which have resulted between the peoples in such contact situations have varied widely; ranging from slavery, through institutionalized cultural and political pluralism, to total acculturation and assimilation.

The outcome of any particular situation of lasting contact depends on factors such as the similarity or difference of the cultures, ethnocentrism, the relative size and power of the groups and so on. The nature of the relationship between groups in such situations has also varied considerably in terms of the degree of hostility and conflict that the contact has engendered. This has varied from passive acceptance of the situation and its results, through mutual dislike and antipathy, to overt and violent conflict. The response made to the contact situation has been largely dependent on the factors noted above and the importance attached to them by each group.

However, regardless of the particular peoples or cultures in contact in a given situation, and regardless of the relationships established between them, all such situations involve some degree of change; either voluntary or imposed. Through the processes of contact and the continuation of this contact over time, some measure of adjustment on the part of each group with respect to the other and with greater or lesser impact or importance is necessary. The pressures for such changes are usually most severely felt by the subordinate group. These changes and adjustments of the groups in new and in continuing situations of contact have involved attitudes, beliefs, and values as well as structural, institutional and technological configurations. In other words, the changes which have occurred in contact situations have affected, at one time or another and in varying degrees of severity, all aspects of culture. These changes have themselves been affected, in terms of rapidity, impact, and scope, by the preconceptions held of each group by the other, by the exigencies of the situation itself, and by the power and definitional factors previously mentioned.

While technological changes have usually had the most immediate effect and have usually been among those most readily accepted by the subordinate group,[112] the most profound and controversial changes have occurred in the political and economic areas and in the cultural core of values, beliefs and institutions.[113] In any such case, the subordinate group, the minority group, or the group with the least power has been affected to a much greater extent by the pressures for cultural change than the dominant group in that situation. Unless total acculturation and assimilation has occurred for whatever reason, or unless a mutually acceptable system of cultural and structural pluralism has emerged, a relationship of domination-subordination is usually established between the groups. This dominant-subordinate relationship may extend to most aspects of social life, the political and economic institutions, and definitions of the relative worth of cultural elements because of the control and power of the dominant group in these areas.[114] Because of these far-reaching effects, such a relationship is usually accompanied by considerable change or pressures for change directed toward the subordinate group.

The major result of such domination and exercise of power by one group over another is usually some resistance and therefore conflict between the groups. The extent and seriousness of this conflict depends upon the direction and type of change that has occurred or is likely to occur, the pressures for change, and the extent to which they are resisted. Changes involving technological innovations which can often be transferred from one culture and accepted into another, for example, have generally been the source of far less conflict than the type of change which has disrupted core beliefs, values, and institutions. This is not to say that the latter type of change does not occur frequently, but to indicate that the resistance to such change is often greater.[115]

Conflict, in one form or another, has long been a part of these situations, and will continue to be a part as long as the undesired pressures for cultural change are present, or are perceived to be present by the subordinate group. These conflicts are especially noticeable in instances where considerable overt pressure for minority assimilation has been applied by the dominant group, or when considerable acculturation has been taking place as a result of these pressures. In terms of marginality, the latter pressures of acculturation, intended or unintended, desired or not, are most important factors in producing changes and conflicts in the marginal situation. Simply, acculturation is described as "...culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous culture systems"[116] or "...the process of culture change which takes place when a people is exposed over a long period of time to a culture different from their own".[117]

While these approaches recognize the elements of extended contact over time and the changes which are involved in the culture, they do not fully explain the processes of domination and power differentials which are involved in much culture change nor the type of situation that may result. Acculturation may be seen more broadly as a number of related processes of change involving various aspects of culture; processes which themselves are subject to change. R. Thurnwald notes such changes in the processes of acculturation and culture change, especially in the area of the techniques involved.

> The peculiarity of modern contact is marked by the special nature of the diffusion and short space of time within which an enormous number of new objects and events overwhelms the bearers of other cultures. The invading culture of today does not so much spread by living together or by exchanging wives, both of which methods require several generations for adjustment, as by the imposing of objects, techniques, concepts (such as Christianity), and by intellectual teaching.[118] (emphasis added)

Imposition of new cultural items in this fashion, quickly and without time for necessary adjustments, even if tolerated, could clearly contribute to increased confusion and strain among the subordinate group. The results of these characteristics in a situation could therefore lead to conflicts within the group undergoing the change, between the groups involved, or both.

D.B. Stout, argues that the "logical conclusion" of the entire process of acculturation is assimilation, but notes as well that this is a conclusion that is notreached in many situations.

Rather, acculturation proceeds until the groups involved reach a recognized "point of adjustment", tacitly agreed to by both parties. The result, according to Stout, is not assimilation of one group and its culture nor a fusion of the two cultures, but a retention of basic "cultural uniqueness by each group".[119] However, if the dominant group is sufficiently powerful, such an outcome is possible only with its concurrence.

In the examination of these processes of cultural change and adjustment, Stout further notes an important factor with respect to the determination of the direction and extent of such changes.

> The segments of the culture with which the individuals of the two contact cultures are familiar determines the range of possibilities for change.[120]

If this is logically the case, then there would be several implications for the idea of the maintenance of a "point of adjustment". By extension of the argument, as the situations of contact themselves changed, the adjustments made by each group as a result would in turn affect the situation. In other words, as the scope of the contact between two such cultural groups broadens and as new or different segments of culture become involved, new processes of change or the possibilities for such change become apparent.

The literature in the area of culture change strongly suggests a close relationship between the processes of culture change, conflict and relative power distribution in a dominant-subordinate relationship. These processes and the associated conflicts are reflected in the internal processes of the involved group, especially in the facets of group structures and group members' attitudes and behavior, as well as in the inter-group relationship.

> Cultural changes grow out of tensions demanding adjustment. It is the culture group that manifests the processes out of which tensions grow, and it is group function that allocates individuals and channelizes their behavior.[121]

In situations which involve groups with different cultural backgrounds, such tensions and conflicts, and the associated changes, can thus be seen as stemming from the major areas of cultural difference.

> Sociologically speaking, conflict exists between groups when there is a fundamental incompatibility in their values, goals, interests, etc., so that if one group gets what it wants, the other group cannot get what it wants.[122]

The above statement clearly points to the basic importance of the core cultural values, beliefs, institutions, etc., and the differences that exist between groups in these areas, in contributing to conflict between groups. In addition, there is a fairly explicit recognition of the nature of the power relationships which are usually involved in this type of contact situation. In this connection it has been noted that one group, because of its control of social, economic or political resources, is often in a position to impose restrictions or barriers in the path of the other group in attaining its own goals. This is particularly true if the goals, to say nothing of the methods of achieving them, are in themselves conflicting.

As has been briefly noted several times previously, a key factor in situations of culture contact and culture conflict has been the relative distribution of power and power utilization between the groups involved. In the sense that power has been used here in relation to the study of minority-majority group relations and culture change, it is best described as:

> ...the asymmetrical relationship between two interacting parties in which a perceptible probability of decision resides in one of the two parties, even over the resistance of the other party.[123]

As one of the groups in this type of situation establishes itself in a dominant or controlling position with respect to social, political, and economic processes and institutions, it appropriates for itself decision-making power. As such a dominant position becomes more entrenched, and includes more and more of the various facets of inter-group relations, the power differential thus created assumes greater importance in the examination of such relationships between culture groups. The effects of this are especially noticeable in the areas of conflict that develop between or around core aspects of culture and the resolutions or attempted resolutions of such conflicts.

M.B. King stresses the importance of examining the relations between minority and majority groups in society with particular attention being paid to the nature of the dominant or subordinate position held by each group in relation to the other.[124] A major factor in such relationships, according to King, is the relative distribution of power between the groups. He points to two main characteristics of such situations of inequitable power distribution between dominant and subordinate groups. First, he notes that unequal power distribution tends to lead to "unequal access to the opportunities and rewards of the society".[125] In this instance, if the subordinate group has expectations of achieving these rewards and is thwarted because of the control exercised by the dominant group, the result will likely be conflict between the groups. If the reasons for limiting access involve prejudice related to identifiable racial stereotypes, conflicts could be much more intense.

Second, King notes that the nature of the dominant-subordinate relationship is in large measure determined by the "source of the difference of power" between the groups. Such differences would be heightened by definitions of individuals as belonging to "categories between the members of which there is a certain culturally-determined pattern of reciprocal attitudes".[126] The examination of dominant-subordinate relationships in terms of power differentials and the reasons for these differentials lends support to the idea of exploring such situations in an historical perspective.

> Physical and cultural differences do not, of themselves, create minority-dominant relationships. ...The defining characteristics without which the minority-dominant relationship does not exist, is the imputation by the majority of inherent superiority to themselves and of inherent inferiority to members of the minority group.[127]

Situations of continuing domination and subordination in which the dominant group fears challenges to its favoured position, may lead, according to H. Blumer, to prejudice rationalized in terms of racial stereotypes.[128] By using the various techniques associated with such prejudice, the dominant group attempts to maintain its superordinate position against threats to its position, and assigns continuing inferior status to the subordinate group.[129] In his conception, feelings of superiority, of "fear and suspicion" of impending encroachment, and the resultant prejudice are a direct consequence of the hierarchical subordinate-superordinate power relationship, rather than a cause of it.[130] Of more importance is Blumer's extension of the concept of relative group positions beyond the purely social aspects of society. He includes other areas of the dominant group's prerogatives in the economic and political structures, as well as social status and position in examining factors contributing to prejudice.

Other investigators of the relations between cultural and racially stereotyped groups in situations of prolonged contact also point to the phenomenon of power disparity and the fact of relative group positioning as major factors affecting the situation.

> There can be no doubting the fact that racial discrimination is ultimately based on power relationships between a dominant and a subordinate group.[131]

The conception that Blalock has of power in the passage cited above involves both the "total resources" available in a particular situation and the "degree to which these resources are mobilized in the services of those persons or groups exercising the power".[132]

By extension of this argument, it can be seen that changes in either or both of these two aspects of the dominant group's power base may affect the situation, possibly changing the nature of the relationship between the dominant and subordinate groups. A major source of such change could be the attempt by the subordinate group to gain access to the power-determining resources or positions.

In discussion of such situations with particular reference to intergroup hostility, F.G. Detweiler cites three major contributing factors. These are the relative positions of the groups involved in the power hierarchy, the perception that each group has of that arrangement, and the historical pattern of inter-group relations. Historical myths or derived prejudices held by a dominant group about other groups may be used to justify prejudicial and discriminatory treatment of that group.[133] S. Lieberson argues a similar point focusing on the attempts made by groups in such situations to maintain aspects of the power they once held as well as valued cultural elements.

> In short, when two populations begin to occupy the same habitat but do not share a single order, each group endeavors to maintain the political and economic conditions that are at least compatible with the institutions existing before contact.[134]

An overwhelmingly powerful group imposing itself on another would undoubtedly influence these conditions and cultural institutions. In so doing, new hierarchical arrangements would be created and perpetuated with the likely result of conflict between the groups.

No group can be seen or examined as a unified whole but must be regarded as having a number of parts differing in greater or lesser ways from each other. Therefore, the effects of social, economic and political domination and pressures for change, and of inter-group conflicts may be perceived differently by different segments.

It is through the analysis of these processes of change in inter-group relations, in the institutions and in the social structures, and through the analysis of power and conflict in these situations, that the complex nature of the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups can best be seen. In such analysis it is necessary to examine the causes as well as the consequences, the historical antecedents of a situation as well as the present in order to gain useful understanding of it and the processes, conflicts and changes involved. In similar fashion, it is necessary in order to examine such marginal situations, to consider their wider impact on the larger system and the various institutions in it, and *vice versa*.

MARGINALITY AND THE NORTHERN SITUATION: AN EVALUATION

From the preceeding examination of the literature on marginality and related concepts, it is apparent that the conceptualization of the marginal situation should be separated from that of the marginal personality. Although there has been general agreement that a marginal situation may produce psychological marginality, this need not necessarily be the case.[135] Accordingly, the focus in this discussion is upon the concept of the marginal situation, its evolution, and the inter-group relations, power structures, changes and conflicts that are a part of it.

Among those authors who have examined the concept of the marginal situation, theoretically and analytically, there is general agreement on four basic factors that are characteristic of such situations. Although the wording varies from one writer to another, as does the emphasis, these four characteristics are as follows. First, a marginal situation involves lasting contact between peoples of two or more different cultural heritages. Second, a marginal situation involves a dominant-subordinate relationship between these groups. Third, barriers of varying permeability exist between the groups; barriers which are controlled by the dominant group or its major institutions. Fourth, conflict in one form or another, or the potential for such conflict, is involved in the relationships between the groups. In such a situation, the marginal man is one who is caught between the two groups; oriented in part toward the dominant society while still having ties to the subordinate group and its culture.

The intention now is to examine Indian-white relations in the North, and the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in particular, to determine the applicability of this approach to a quite different type of situation. The information obtained and discussed earlier points to the existence of all four of the major characteristics of a marginal situation in the research area. However in each instance, as will be discussed below, some additional and differentiating qualification is necessary to explain the development of the situation.

That there are basic cultural differences between Indians and whites in the North is readily apparent, and in terms of ethnic identification and linguistic differences is similar to situations discussed in the literature. However, contact in the North involved a non-industrial subsistence based Indian culture and the Euro-Canadian industrial society, and therefore much greater differences than in most reported studies of marginality. Historically in the North, the migrant group has been the non-Indians as representatives of the economic, religious and administrative institutions of the larger society,[136] not a group seeking assimilation or under assimilative pressures. In this case, it has been the migrant, numerical and colonizing minority who possessed the cultural background of technology, organizational skills, and economic power necessary to dominate an indigenous population.[137]

In the early stages of inter-group contact and interaction, assimilative and acculturative pressures on the Indian population were rather incidental to their participation in the fur trade economy. Indians did not generally seek assimilation in the larger society. Their participation in the fur trade should rather be seen as an accommodation to an imposed system which provided some benefits but maintained general cultural integrity. However, as white involvement in the contact situation diversified to include religious and later administrative representatives, the situation changed in the direction of more deliberate acculturative and assimilative pressures; an imposed, externally-oriented education system and religious conversion pressures being prime examples. The crux of cultural differences in the North is, however, the continuing efforts of most members of the subordinate group to retain significant aspects of their culture and way of life; not to be assimilated.

Domination and subordination throughout most of the marginal man literature is generally related to assumptions of relative cultural or ethnic superiority and inferiority. While similar assumptions were indeed noted to be held by dominant group members, they were directly related to economic and other institutional domination, often being used as rationalizations for the existence and continuation of the hierarchy. Since virtually first contact in the North, the dominant group's control of the economy has provided the basis for their domination over the Indian population. Economic domination has been extended to most other areas of life with the expansion of non-Indian involvement in the North. With the decline in the importance of the fur trade, and therefore in the economic importance of the Indians, they were pushed even further to the periphery of northern development and became increasingly subordinate to the paternalistic system of government economic subsidization.

The barriers considered to be characteristic of a marginal situation, that is barriers to full participation or membership in the dominant society, are certainly present in the North. In many ways, they were found to be similar to those identified in the literature, being based on the necessity of acculturation and assimilation and related to cultural and ethnic stereotypes. However, a main assumption in the literature, that assimilation is a general subordinate group goal, was not substantiated by this research. While there have been extensive and increasing pressures for this, and while such a course may be adopted by some individuals, a very strong and general desire for Indian culture and identity retention was found. In that Yellowknife is the urban and industrial centre of the North, the research supports the contention that:

> As Indian job seekers enter urban and industrial settings, they are apt to encounter discriminatory attitudes and practices from segments of the dominant white population.[138]

At the supra-individual level, the barriers between the groups which were once geographic are now barriers of government bureaucracy and corporate organization. As such they operate to exclude, or to attempt to exclude, Indians from participation in the decision-making processes.

Conflict in a marginal situation, aside from the dubious notion of psychological conflict, is one of the least well discussed areas of marginal man theory. Discussion has been by and large tied to culture conflict associated with culture contact and change. Although this is certainly an important aspect of the northern situation, conflict there is much more broadly based. The conflicts that are a part of the northern situation are a direct consequence of the historical evolution of the imposition of white domination and Indian powerlessness. Until relatively recently, Indians in the North lacked both the knowledge and the organizational channels necessary to successfully oppose the power and domination of the non-Indian society and institutions. There has been a growing awareness of the power realities of the situation and of the historical imposition and perpetuation of white domination combined with a growing sense of powerlessness felt by younger and more educated Indians. This has led rather directly to the formation of Indian organizations with the purpose and capacity of challenging the hierarchical structures and demanding basic economic and political changes. The conflicts in this case are not over a lack of entrance into the dominant society so much as over access to power and decision-making while retaining Indian identity.

The question of who, if anyone, is the marginal man in the North, or has the situation resulted in the emergence of a marginal man, may be asked, given the overt existence of the characteristics of a marginal situation. Several possibilities are suggested in the literature of Indian-white relations in the North. The Metis population in terms of self-identification and their relations with the Indian,Inuit and white populations may be seen as occupying an intermediate "marginal" position with sometimes conflicting loyalties.[139]

> Nevertheless, Metis do on occasion identify with 'natives.' ...As might be expected, Metis are most likely to make such identification when confronted by a situation whose foreignness minimizes the contrast between themselves and the Eskimos/Indians and which emphasizes their common allegiances.[140]

Indeed, the mixed ancestry of the Metis population is similar to the situations cited in several of the earlier studies of marginal man. However, in that the Metis in Canada, and increasingly so in the North,[141] seek to retain their identity and demand changes in their relations with the dominant group, they differ significantly from the illustrations in the literature.

J. Fried implies the existence of another possibility, assuming the marginality of Metis people and stemming largely from increasing government involvement with native peoples in the North and the broadening "cultural influence of southern whites".

> The 19th century produced the Metis - a marginal backwoods variant peripherally adapted to the world of the miners and trappers. In the post World War II settlements we seem to be seeing the creation of another kind of Metis - one with a grade school education, a semi-skilled worker with modern tools, but one who is still socially peripheral to the dominant white social elements of the community.[142]

By implication, this type of person is partly assimilated but remains identified as an Indian with resulting possible marginality. Because of limited contacts with Metis, this could not be substantiated.

However, this research did find that while some Indians in the same position were oriented toward assimilation, many were not. Most significant among the latter were those who were primarily responsible for the development of the different Indian-oriented organizations. In this respect, the research supports the contention that:

> Young Indian people today, who have clear alternatives, are opting in surprising numbers to remain Indian and promote Indian goals, using their educational advantages toward this end.[143]

Dunning suggests that the white representative of the dominant institutions in the small communities is the marginal man in the North in terms of both his position, role and his relations with the Indian people.

> This type of non-democratic person who seems to operate successfully in the power position of an undifferentiated ethnic population might be called the 'marginal man'.[144]

Balikci and Cohen appear to support this argument, noting the potential for authoritarianism among such persons who are "...at the structural margins of their own organizations".[145] All of the above authors, moreover, refer to the extent to which the power and control of the dominant group in the North contributes to the situations they discuss. Dunning's suggestion seems to be far more applicable to the small isolated community than to larger centres like Yellowknife. Although the basic nature of the power relationship is unchanged, dominant group members are in the majority and have established a representative white society, a sub-metropolis, to which Indians are the "outsiders".

SUMMARY

In the decades since the concepts of marginality and the marginal man were introduced to the sociological literature, they have been approached in a number of different ways involving somewhat divergent conceptual perspectives. The differences or disagreements that have thus emerged in marginal man theory have involved two major facets; the definition of "the marginal man", and the particular combination of circumstances which contributed to the creation of marginality or the marginal situation. As has been illustrated, discussions involving these areas of difference have ranged widely; from Park's racist analyses of the hybrid[146] and the migrant[147] and corresponding personality types, to the attempts of Antonovsky[148] and Dickie-Clark[149] to theoretically and analytically examine the marginal situation.

In each instance, the examination of the marginal man concept in an analytical fashion has focused upon a particular group or class of individuals in a society. In each case as well, the groups or classes which came under investigation were in one way or another identifiable as being different from the dominant power group in the society; generally occupying subordinate positions or statuses in the society. Early explorations have generally tended to focus specifically on the attitudes of such groups and their constituent individuals and on "psychological" factors and attributes. Later studies saw increasing attention paid to the power aspects of the marginal group's relationships with the dominant society. Individuals, groups or classes considered to be marginal were seen as having a relatively powerless position with respect to the dominant group; a relationship which contributed directly to marginality.

In the literature on marginal man, two important aspects of inter-group relations have not been sufficiently examined. The idea and realities of conflict, causally or immediately linked to marginal situations, remains relatively unexplored, except for discussions of culture conflict. Similarly, the idea of power differentials and economic power in particular, which is an integral facet of inter-group relations, is not specifically dealt with except insofar as it is related to the encouragement or restriction of subordinate group assimilation. Both of these aspects may be seen as the result of predominant assimilationist assumptions and of selective study of groups which are assimilating. The inattention paid to these two areas has led to the general omission from consideration of possible innovative responses directed at basic changes in the dominant-subordinate relationship. Innovation in the marginal man literature has been generally regarded as a structurally accommodative or intellectually creative response; not one which challenges the power of the dominant group and seeks major changes in inter-group relationships.

Culture contact, especially between groups with noticeable power disparities, usually results in the imposition of a dominant-subordinate relationship between the groups. A general result is a degree of culture change and acculturation, although this depends on particular circumstances. The attempts made by the subordinate group to preserve their culture are tied to the extent and scope of the imposition of the dominant group's power. Considerable pressure for acculturation, if cultural retention is strongly desired, may lead to conflict as the subordinate group resists or attempts to realign relationships.

The nature and development of the power relationships in the North, and the non-assimilative responses made by the subordinate group, leaves the applicability of marginal man theory open to considerable question. Although there are marked similarities between the Indian-white situation in the North and a marginal situation, marginal man theory does not provide an adequate explanation of the situation and changes which are occurring in it.

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Cressey, P.F., op. cit., and M.M. Wood, op. cit.

106 The emigration of large numbers of people from various European countries to North America and the resulting heterogeneous population is an example of this.

107 The importation of slaves from Africa to the Americas and "blackbirding" in the South Pacific are illustrations of this.

108 The colonies established in Africa, South America and Asia by European Powers are examples.

109 The conquest of the indigenous peoples in North America, New Zealand, and South Africa demonstrate this.

110 Alliances formed during times of stress, (wars), or for other reasons, such as the E.E.C., NATO, etc., and the relations which ensue are illustrations.

111 The relationship between Great Britain and her former colonies in the Third World is a good illustration of this. It should be noted however that changes of this sort have largely occurred because of pressures from the colonized people themselves.

112 Witness the ready and usually willing acceptance by the Indians of North America of firearms, metal tools, etc., which were easily incorporated into the existing culture patterns but which had serious long-term effects.

113 A good example of this was the de-culturation of the slaves brought to North America and the current struggle on the part of Black Americans to gain some measure of identification with the pre-slavery cultures and to develop distinctive Black cultural values and beliefs.

114 cf. pp. 142-165.

115 For an illustration of this see:

Eaton, J.W., "Controlled Acculturation: A Survival Technique of the Hutterites", American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, #3, (June, 1952), pp. 331-340.

116 Barnett, H.G., et al., "The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953 - Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation", American Anthropologist, Vol. 56, #6, (Dec. 1954), p. 974.

117 Pederson, H.A., "The Emerging Culture Concept: An Approach to the Study of Culture Change", Social Forces, Vol. 29, #2, (Dec. 1950), p. 132.

118 Thurnwald, R., "The Psychology of Acculturation", American Anthropologist, Vol. 34, #4, (Dec. 1932), p. 569.

119 Stout, D.B., "San Blas Cuna Acculturation", Social Forces, Vol. 21, #1, (Oct. 1942), p. 87.

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121 Krout, M.H., "Culture and Culture Change", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 38, #2, (Sept. 1932), p. 263.

122 Bernard, J., "The Conceptualization of Intergroup Relations with Special Reference to Conflict", *Social Forces*, Vol. 29, #3, (Mar. 1951), p. 244.

123 Schermerhorn, R.A., "Power as a Primary Concern in the Study of Minorities", *Social Forces*, Vol. 35, #1, (Oct. 1956), p. 54.

124 King, M.B., "The Minority Course", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, #1, (Feb. 1956), pp. 80-83.

125 Ibid., p. 82.

126 Ibid., p. 82.

127 Ibid., p. 83.

128 Blumer, H., "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position", *Pacific Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, #1, (Spring, 1958), p. 3.

129 Ibid., p. 4.

130 Ibid., p. 4.

131 Blalock, H.M., "A Power Analysis of Racial Discrimination", *Social Forces*, Vol. 39, #1, (Oct. 1960), p. 53.

132 Ibid., p. 53.

133 Detweiler, F.G., "The Rise of Modern Race Antagonisms", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 37, #5, (Mar. 1932), [illegible]. 743.

134 Lieberson, S., "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 26, #6, (Dec. 1961), p. 904.

135 Goldberg, M.M., op. cit., p. 53, and

Antonovsky, A., op. cit., p. 62.

136 Dunning, R.W., "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada", op. cit., and

Balikci, A., and R. Cohen, op. cit.

137 Dickie-Clark's discussion of the Coloured population in South Africa is in some ways similar. He however examines a situation in which there is strict legal definition and separation of a "marginal" group, the offspring of White-African intermixing, and in which the subordinate group is,

and sees itself as being, culturally similar to the dominant white group.

Dickie-Clark, H.F., The Marginal Situation.

138 Helm, J., and E.B. Leacock, "The Hunting Tribes of Subarctic Canada", in E.B. Leacock and N.O. Lurie (eds.), op. cit., p. 363.

139 Slobodin, R., op. cit., pp. 147-152.

140 Ibid., p. 152.

141 "Six Metis observers from the North were invited to attend this Native Council of Canada workshop, December 9, 10 and 11th in Edmonton. At the end of this conference, these people formed a steering committee to do the work of setting up a N.W.T. Non-Status or Metis Association."

Native Press, December 17, 1971, p. 1.

142 Fried, J., op. cit., p. 65.

143 Lurie, N.O., "The Contemporary American Indian Scene", in E.B. Leacock and N.O. Lurie, (eds.), op. cit., p. 421.

144 Dunning, R.W., "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada", op. cit., p. 122.

145 Balikci, A., and R. Cohen, op. cit., p. 41.

146 Park, R.E., "Mentality of Racial Hybrids", op. cit.

147 Park, R.E., "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", op. cit.

148 Antonovsky, A., "Toward a Refinement of the Marginal Man Concept", op. cit.

149 Dickie-Clark, H.F., "The Marginal Situation: A Contribution to Marginality Theory", op. cit.

Dickie-Clark, H.F., The Marginal Situation: A Sociological Study of a Coloured Group, op. cit.

CHAPTER III

FIELD RESEARCH: PROCEDURES AND PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTION

The information that is presented and discussed in this study was gathered over a period of two and one half years. The greatest part, however, was obtained during the course of two field trips which were made to the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area of the Northwest Territories. The remainder, a not inconsiderable amount, was gathered during the period between the field trips from a number of sources and in a variety of ways. The major sources of information during this interim period were the continuing and extensive meetings, visits and correspondence with persons whom the researcher had come into contact during the first field trip. In this manner, as will be discussed in some detail later, quite close contact was maintained with the situation in the research area and with individuals closely involved with it. This continuing close contact during this period was of considerable benefit during the second field trip, as well as having yielded considerable information about changing conditions in the North.

It can therefore be seen that the research involved three relatively distinct but continuous or overlapping phases. The first phase consisted of the first field trip to the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area during July and August of 1969. This trip was some seven weeks in duration and involved both the researcher and his wife. The second phase, the interim period, involved numerous visits by northern

Indians to the researcher's home in Edmonton during 1969 and 1970. In addition, a considerable correspondence was carried on with contacts in the North, a correspondence which continued after the researcher left Edmonton and personal contacts had to be discontinued. The third phase, the second field trip to the North, took place during July and August of 1971.

A number of problems were encountered by the investigator during the course of the research, although these were most acute during the first field trip. Linguistic and cultural differences between the researcher and the Indian people constituted the most obvious difficulties encountered in the field. More serious perhaps, with respect to the type of research being undertaken, were those which arose between the researcher and the Indians because of already existing conflicts between Indians and whites in the area. This particularly applied in the case of Indian relationships with officials of both the Territorial and Federal levels of government. These two areas of difficulty, cultural and linguistic on the one hand and a distrust of many Indians toward whites on the other, have no doubt influenced the research. However, it is felt that both of these problems were overcome for the most part, as will be demonstrated later.

After some consideration had been given to the available information concerning the situation of the Indian people and Indian-white relations in the North, participant observation was settled upon as the major technique of information collection. Among the factors contributing to this decision were the above-mentioned difficulties of language and cultural differences, the Indian distrust of whites, especially whites asking questions, and the overall complexity of Indian-white relations in the North. It was felt that the procedures involved in participant observation would allow the researcher to gain greater access to, and understanding of, the situation in the North than could have been gained by other methods.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the discussions of the techniques and problems of participant observation that are found in the literature, two major points are stressed repeatedly; the first centering on the idea of participation by the researcher in the group or situation studied, and the second focusing on the role or roles played by the researcher-participant in a given situation. Careful consideration of the factors involved in these two points, when taken in conjunction, may be seen as being the key to successful information collection. More important perhaps, such consideration is seen as crucial in understanding a situation as it really is, thereby avoiding the pitfalls of force-fitting information into limited and preconceived categories.

With respect to the first point, that of participation in the group being studied, F. R. Kluckhohn notes that:

> Participant observation is conscious and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the life activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons.[1]

The qualification that Kluckhohn makes with respect to participation in the research setting echoes an earlier observation made by J.D. Lohman: "The criterion of effective observation becomes then, the extent and character of the participation".[2] As will be discussed later, these remarks by both Kluckhohn and Lohman stressing the importance of participation are closely related to their conceptualizations of the role to be played by the researcher-participant.

In a more analytical sense, Schwartz and Schwartz illustrate the importance of participation in their definition of participant observation. In their view, this is: "...a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation."[3] The importance of participation for the gathering of information is, however, stated most clearly and concisely by H.S. Becker. "The participant observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of the group or organization he studies."[4]

The idea of personal participation by the researcher in the daily life of a group, and thus of observing the group from that perspective, is therefore seen as being crucial to gaining an understanding of that group. Such understanding, as S.T. Bruyn notes, will reflect the views and goals of the persons or group studied as they themselves see them; or should be such a reflection to as great an extent as possible.[5] Through such participation in the day to day life and activities of a group, the participant observer is able to gain an understanding of them and of their meaning from the perspective of the group.

The second main point which is stressed in discussions of participant observation as a research technique, that of the role or roles of the researcher, is important in that the role may significantly affect the researcher's observations. As is implied in the above discussion of participation, a researcher must select and play a particular role in the community or group which is under investigation. On the other hand, however, the researcher may often be assigned a particular role by the members of the group, a role which may or may not conflict with his chosen role.

Kluckhohn[6] and Bennett[7] in particular have pointed to the importance of the role which is selected and played by the researcher, especially in situations which involve cultural differences between the researcher and his subjects. The observations made by these writers, however, are essentially similar to those which had been made by Lohman some years earlier.

> A person is accepted to the extent that he displays like interests and purposes and to the extent that he fits himself into the economy of the community. He must carve a place for himself.[8]

The role of the participant observer must therefore be one which is reasonable, that is within the scope of the community and, more importantly, one which is both plausible and viable to the members of the community. The role which the researcher selects can thus be seen as one which should be strongly influenced by a knowledge of that community; one which fits the situation.

In general, there is considerable agreement in the literature that the group or community under investigation exercises the ultimate decision with respect to the role of the researcher. This is seen both in terms of what is expected of the researcher in the community and what is permissible. "The community itself indicates who has prestige and under what circumstances it arises and accrues to the individual."[9] This function of the community must be seen as applying to the resident researcher, just as it applies to the members of the community itself. The role of the researcher is always a social role and as such will be subject to the same constraints as any other social role.

R.W. Janes has noted that the role of the researcher often passes through a succession of stages in terms of his relationship with the community or group he is involved with. Each stage, and the progression between stages, is seen as being primarily a matter of perception and definition on the part of the members of the community.

> During his period of residence, his community role undergoes a successive redefinition. This redefinition includes five phases: newcomer, provisional acceptance, categorical acceptance, personal acceptance, and imminent migrant.[10]

Such a conceptualization, particularly the importance attached to the definition and redefinition on the part of the community, points clearly to the ability of the community to reject the researcher or to limit his activities as well as to accept him.

The extent to which the role of the participant observer is related to the community is perhaps best stated by A.J. Vidich. "In every case the field worker is fitted into a plausible role by the population he is studying and within a context meaningful to them."[11] The researcher is thus forced, by the social nature of his role, to adapt in some manner to the community's perception of him. A researcher, for example, who cannot so adapt or explain his role within the boundaries of the community's perception, will have a difficult time gathering useful information.

In the light of the importance of the community or group in determining the role of the researcher, as discussed above, it is apparent that the researcher must give careful consideration to the choice of his original role and the approach he initially makes to the community. Such considerations are also important in that the role of the researcher in the field will in large measure determine the extent to which he can use this information without violating privacy or confidences.

The role alternatives which are available to the researcher in the field have best been presented by B.H. Junker[12] and elaborated on by R.L. Gold[13] and S.T. Bruyn.[14] This typology of roles, as discussed below, ranges from the one extreme of complete participant to the other extreme of complete observer.

> I Complete Participant. - In this role, the observers activities as such are wholly concealed. The field worker is or becomes a complete member of an in-group, thus sharing secret information guarded from outsiders.[15]

A role of this nature may allow the researcher to obtain a great deal of otherwise unobtainable information about the "in-group" of which he becomes a part. However, such close connections with the group may restrict the perspective that the researcher has with respect to the position of the group in, and its relations with, the larger social system. A further limitation upon this type of role involves the ethics of the disclosure of information so obtained. While such ethical considerations are important in any type of research, they are of singular importance in this case. As Junker notes: "If he (the researcher) escapes the problems of a spy, he takes on those of a traitor".[16]

> II Participant as Observer. - In this role, the field worker's observer activities are not wholly concealed, but are 'kept under wraps' as it were, or subordinated to activities as participant, activities which give the people in the situation their main bases for evaluation of the field worker in his roles.[17]

The major difficulty with this type of approach involves the conflict, or potential conflict, between the roles of participant-as-friend and participant-as-researcher. If such conflict does emerge in the research setting, the investigator may have considerable difficulty in maintaining a desired degree of objectivity. (The question of objectivity in participant observation research is discussed later.) As the researcher becomes more involved in the community or group, and thereby in the situation as a whole, the likelihood of the transition of role from researcher to friend increases; a change which could possibly place the researcher in the position of regarding more information as confidential or secret.

> III Observer as Participant. - This is the role in which the observers activities as such are made publicly known at the outset, are more or less publicly sponsored by people in the situation, and are intentionally not 'kept under wraps'.[18]

The important point to note in connection with this type of research role is that the researcher openly identifies himself and his goals to at least the key people involved in the situation he is studying. Considerable stress is still placed on the researcher in reporting his information because, although known as a researcher, tacit understandings may be interjected into his relationships with the group by group members during the field work period. The researcher can never be completely certain that all persons understand his research role and may thus interact with him on the basis of a misunderstanding of it. However, there is a major advantage to this type of research role which makes it particularly valuable in longitudinal studies. This advantage pertains to the fact that entrances and exits to or from the research situation, often necessary for a number of reasons, are more easily made because of the formal identification of the field worker as a researcher, thus as a temporary participant.

> IV Complete Observer. - This describes a range of roles in which, at one extreme, the observer hides behind a one-way mirror, perhaps equipped with sound film facilities, and at the other extreme, his activities are completely public in a special kind of theoretical group where there are, by consensus, 'no secrets' and 'nothing sacred'.[19]

In the field setting, ideally, the researcher would have no continued personal contact with the people involved, a condition that would be difficult, if not impossible to maintain for any length of time. However, such a role may be of considerable value in the initial stages of the field work when the researcher first arrives in the area and before local contacts are made. By playing such a role at the onset, the researcher may be in a position to better evaluate the situation and then decide upon the future course of research activity, particularly the role or roles to be played.

Thus it would appear that the field worker who is engaged in participant observation research plays two roles at the same time, except in the problematical case of the complete observer. These are the role of participant in a given situation or group and the role of observer of that situation or group. At certain times or in different circumstances, each of these roles will constitute a greater or lesser part of the researcher's activities. As S.T. Bruyn has pointed out, these two roles, while conflicting at times, are usually complementary to each other in seeking information and in the subsequent analysis of the information thus gained.

> He finds that those interests which are embodied in this, his scientific (observer) role, coincide in many ways with his social role as participant. He finds his social role an interdependent and indispensable part of the scientific process.[20]

In addition to the above, a number of other variables enter into the role choice that the researcher makes in a given situation. These other considerations or determining factors arise primarily from the exigencies of the situation itself and the limitations of the researcher, not from the demands or goals of scientific research. Bruyn presents these factors rather concisely.

> The kind of role which is assumed by the researcher is also determined by his abilities (i.e., whether he is able to speak the language, socially adjust to his environs, etc.) and the norms of the culture itself. The participant observer must be able to find a satisfactory entree, develop and maintain a role adequate to meet his scientific needs, and finally be able to terminate relationships in a way reasonably

consistent with cultural expectations.[21]

However, regardless of the role that a field worker attempts to play and regardless of the role to which he may be assigned by the community or group, he will still, to a greater or lesser extent, remain an outsider. I.C. Jarvie makes special mention of this in a discussion of the ethics of participant observation.

> Clearly, then, however well the anthropologist may be liked and trusted, however long he has been known and got used to, he is unlikely to ever become an ordinary insider, a full member of the society he studies.[22]

The growth of friendships, increasing access to secret or confidential information and general integration into the life of the group cannot be seen as being necessarily sufficient to overcome prior identifications or roles, especially that of academic researcher. This would seem to be particularly true in situations that involve cultural differences between the researcher and the group being studied. Indeed, it is felt that the maintenance of a degree of impersonality in relationships is a necessary aspect of participant observation research.[23] F.R. Kluckhohn has noted both of these conditions.

> The investigator is never able to shake off entirely his role of outsider, and I am in accord with those who maintain that it is not advisable for him to do so. Some exceedingly valuable information comes to the outsider simply because he is one.[24]

I.C. Jarvie, commenting on the distinction between the role of "friend" and the role of "stranger" with respect to participant observation studies, contends that, by and large, the researcher must "choose the role of the stranger", for much the same reasons as those given by Kluckhohn.[25]

> ...to some extent, the success of the method of participant observation derives from exploiting the situations created by the role clashes, insider/outsider, stranger/friend, pupil/teacher.[26]

Perhaps the most appropriate summation of the overall role of the participant researcher in the community or group he studies is made by A.J. Vidich.

> Consequently, the observer remains marginal to the society or organization or segments of them which he studies. By his conscious action he stands between the major social divisions, not necessarily above them, but surely apart from them.[27]

The degree to which this distance can be maintained during fieldwork is, of course, dependent upon the particular circumstances of the research setting. Vidich does support, however, the contention that the participant observer cannot, nor should he, become fully incorporated into the group he studies. By doing so the researcher would lose some of his sense of objectivity as well as a broader perspective which would enable him to view the group with respect to its relationships with the larger social environment.

The issue of impersonal objectivity in any type of sociological research, but particularly in participant observation research, is problematic at best. Although writing about markedly different circumstances, W.F. Whyte presents the case of many participant observers rather well.

> I suppose no one goes to live in a slum district for three and a half years unless he is concerned about the problems facing the people there. In that case it is difficult to remain solely a passive observer.[28]

The fact that the researcher in such a situation lives and interacts on a day to day basis with his 'subjects' furthers the difficulty of his maintaining even the myth of "scientific impersonal objectivity".

In this light, perhaps the most appropriate term to describe the present researcher's position would be "partisan participant".[29] By this, it is meant that the researcher is forced by circumstances or is moved by concern to "take a stand"[30] positively with the group studied. In this study, because of several circumstances, the researcher came to identify himself, and be identified, as being primarily concerned with the problems of the Indian people: "on their side" so to speak.

The particular circumstances which were critical in the adoption of this general role were: 1) the overt and covert conflict noted between whites and Indians; 2) the cultural differences between the researcher and the Indian people; and 3) the primary orientation of the research toward the Indians' position in the area vis a vis the whites. Since the research demanded close ties with the Indian people, it was necessary to avoid, as far as possible, identification with the dominant white society. To have associated or identified extensively with members of the dominant group, particularly those in government circles, would have made the desired entrance into the Indian society much more difficult if not impossible given the existing state of Indian-white relations as the researcher perceived it.

The idea of "partisan participant" does not imply any active or deliberate interference with the life of the group being studied. S. Tax has used the term "participant interference" to refer to the type of action anthropology that he discusses in The Fox Project.[31] In his estimation, the action-oriented anthropologist is able to define specific Indian problems and suggest or implement programs for their alleviation. On the other hand, in the view of the researcher, "partisan participant" does not refer to such an active course but rather to a role and perspective from which the situation is observed.

In this study, the researcher went to some considerable trouble to avoid offering gratuitous suggestions or actions which might have been regarded by the Indian people as interference in the situation. However, this is not to say that a researcher acting as a partisan participant can remain totally aloof from the activities of the group or can avoid contributions and suggestions. But, in the opinion of the researcher, these should be made, and were made, only at the specific invitation of the group or group members. During the fieldwork, the researcher was asked to assist the Indian people on several occasions with particular projects and utilized his knowledge and time to fulfill their wishes.[32] If asked, as was often the case, the researcher would comment on proposed courses of action or on the situation in general. In this, he attempted to visualize the problem from the perspective of the Indian people and apply his own knowledge and thoughts to it.

The partisan participant in such a situation is in a curious and yet unique position. He is a participant in the life of the group to some extent but he is still an "outsider" to the group. If he has acted naturally and in accordance with the expectations of the group he will not be regarded as a hostile "outsider". In this type of situation, where there are cultural differences between the researcher and the group he is studying, he will always remain to a considerable degree an "outsider", even though a partisan "outsider". By being in such a position, the researcher can maintain perspective and objectivity about the situation that a real "insider" cannot and, at the same time, perceive and understand the situation from the perspective of the group. As R.H. Wax has pointed out: "However intimate and extensive an experience, no period of living within another culture can fully compensate for the lack of childhood experiences therein".[33]

Objectivity, from the standpoint of a partisan participant in such a situation, refers first to the researcher's being as much a part of the group as possible, and observing it without influencing it unduly. Secondly, as Whyte suggests, it refers to being helpful as a friend rather than directive.[34] Whyte illustrates this quite well in the following passage.

> As I became accepted by the Nortons and by several other groups, I tried to make myself pleasant enough so that people would be glad to have me around. And, at the same time, I tried to avoid influencing the group, because I wanted to study the situation as unaffected by my presence as possible.[35]

In summary then, the researcher as a partisan participant in a situation of this type may be regarded as a participant observer who functions primarily within one group and who attempts to understand the situation as they perceive it. At the same time, however, he is an outsider who can bring a degree of perspective and objectivity to bear upon his observations as a partisan participant, although they will undoubtedly reflect that role. As R.H. Wax points out in her discussion of fieldwork:

> If the role gives him the opportunity to observe what he wishes to observe, to communicate with and understand the people about whom he wishes to learn, in a manner and fashion to which they do not object, it is a good role.[36]

DATA COLLECTION: TECHNIQUES AND DIFFICULTIES

The information that has been compiled and utilized in the preparation of this report was gathered from three main sources: personal interviews and conversations; published material, archive material and statistical reports; and personal field observations. Each of these three sources has provided a somewhat different perspective on Indian-white relations and of the situation of the Indian people in the area where the research was conducted. However when examined in combination they have allowed the formulation of a rather complete picture of the situation and of the changes taking place. The use of these three sources has also been important in that a continual check of a cross-referencing nature could be maintained upon the material so gathered. In addition, the answers to questions which were raised with respect to the date from one source were often indicated or located in material from one of the other sources. Information that was purely observational in nature, for example, was continually being checked and evaluated in the light of information obtained through interviews or conversations with informants. Each source of data will be briefly examined below.

Personal Interviews and Conversations

The use of the term "interview" in this context is perhaps something of a misnomer in so much as only a few complete, one-time interviews were conducted during the course of the research. All other interviews from which information has been derived involved very informal conversations between the researcher as participant observer and informants. Responses to specific questions were gained in a non-directed manner, usually being gradually elicited during the course of a conversation or series of conversations. In many cases only one or two of the desired topics could be discussed at any one time. Much of the information was, however, obtained in the course of completely non-directed conversations, as the researcher and other people went about their daily life.

The exceptions to this general interview pattern were those that were conducted, still in a fairly informal fashion, with a number of government and law enforcement personnel. In only one instance was it necessary to make a formal appointment; that being for an interview with a very busy magistrate. All other interviews were conducted "on the spot" as it were, in a wide variety of locations and under many different circumstances.

Information was obtained from conversations or interviews in restaurants and bars, on street corners, in private homes, in stores, in the courtroom and in many other locations. In each instance, an attempt was made to follow up over time with the individual until as many topics as possible had been discussed. In most cases, this completeness was not possible: for example the individual had left the area to go trapping or hunting or to fight forest fires, or in some cases, was just impossible to trace again.

In all cases, whether the conversation had involved only one person or a number of individuals, as was more often the situation, summary notes were made as soon after as was conveniently possible. This method of recording information was adopted after some experimentation with both on-the-spot notation and tape recording. It became readily apparent that each of these two forms of immediate recording of information seriously hindered conversation, especially when the more sensitive areas of Indian-white relations were under discussion. On the negative side, the method of recording used prohibited the compilation of a complete or verbatim record of the information thus obtained; although checks with informants showed that accurate and complete material was indeed obtained. On the positive side, however, this method did allow for much freer discussions between the researcher and informants on a wide range of topics. In many cases, only a fraction of the discussions pertained directly to the research questions, but those being interviewed were much more at ease and a great deal of useful supplementary knowledge was gained.

There were two major difficulties involved in the gathering of information by these methods. In the first place, the researcher is white and was accordingly regarded with some degree of suspicion by the Indians, initially by some and throughout the entire research by others. However, having been accepted by several of the more influential Indians in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area, suspicion diminished markedly and there was, for the most part, little hindrance to conversation. One particular offshoot of this was that, as a result of being identified with the Indians, some of the whites in the area remained somewhat suspicious. Most of the interviews with non-Indians were conducted before this identification had become clearly made though, and indeed, in most of the community outside of some official and government circles, it was never made.

In the second place, the interviews with those Indians who spoke no English were of necessity conducted with the assistance of interpreters. Even though the researcher was able to learn some simple Dogrib during the course of the second field trip, it was insufficient beyond the exchange of greetings, very general comments, and short, simple conversations on everyday topics such as fishing. The attempt itself, to learn and use the language, did however aid considerably in the research as many of the Indians regarded this as a gesture of interest and tried to help. Although the bulk of the interpreting was done by four informants, in almost every instance there was someone who would assist in this if it was necessary and one of these four was not present.

By means of this type of interviewing, information was collected from a broad cross-section of both the Indian and white populations. Among the whites this included government officials, legal officials, welfare workers, merchants, police officers, and persons employed in a variety of service occupations. Among the Indians, this included Indian Brotherhood personnel, an elected member of the Territorial Council, workers with the Indian-Eskimo Association and Company of Young Canadians, chiefs and band councillors, and a large number of others unemployed or employed in a variety of jobs, in both Yellowknife and Fort Rae.

The wide range of contacts among the Indian population in particular was made possible largely through the good auspices of a handful of key informants and friends. These persons, almost all of whom were connected with the Indian Brotherhood, the Indian-Eskimo Association or the Company of Young Canadians, provided introductions to many individuals. In addition, they provided entrance to a variety of situations, meetings and other gatherings which might otherwise have remained closed to the researcher. Moreover, the fact that the researcher lived with Indian families throughout almost all of the time spent in the North greatly enhanced his acceptability among the rest of the Indian population.

Published Material

Much of the material that has been utilized in the discussion of historic circumstances and the analysis of these as they pertain to the development of the current situation has been derived from a variety of archival, documentary and historical sources. While these sources have provided a solid and basic background for discussion, they have been supplemented wherever possible by information obtained from the Indian people themselves. Many of the older people, for example, clearly remembered the early years before extensive in-migration of whites and the effects of this can be seen and examined from this perspective. Certain historical incidents, such as the signing of Treaty Number Eleven, were witnessed by persons still alive who were thus able to provide valuable information supplementary to written accounts.

Other date of a statistical nature used in this report has been gathered from a number of sources. The most important of these were reports of the Indian-Eskimo Association, of the Territorial

Government, of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and of Statistics Canada. The "Native Press", the newspaper published by the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, has provided additional valuable information.

Personal Observations

As a participant observer, the researcher was able to gather and record a considerable body of information about the Indian people, the non-Indian population, and the institutional and non-institutional aspects of Indian-white relations in the area. All of these observations were recorded and collated as soon as possible, given the different circumstances in which the observations were made. While these observations were useful in themselves, they have been much more applicable when taken in conjunction with data obtained from all sources.

Participation, a very general term, may be delineated more specifically for the purposes of this research in terms of the circumstances in which observation and interviews took place. In the first place, there was participation in what might be termed the formal or institutional aspects of the situation. This included the researcher's participation in, or presence at, band meetings, meetings of chiefs, band council meetings, extensive association with the Indian Brotherhood and its officials, and meetings between Indian leaders and government officials. In the latter situations, the researcher's partisan participant status was clearly shown in that he was asked to be present by the chiefs or other leaders as someone who was "on their side". This usually aroused some visible signs of anxiety on the part of the officials who seemed to be unsure of how to treat the researcher.

In the second place, there was the informal participation in the daily life of the Indian community. This included involvement in family life, in day to day activities, in dances and parties, in shopping and recreational activities such as gambling, and most other forms of interpersonal interaction. In this manner information was obtained which pertained not only to the formal relations between Indians and whites and the institutions involved, but also to the attitudes and orientations of the Indian people.

THE THREE RESEARCH PHASES: AN ELABORATION

Since the research being reported and examined here was conducted in three interconnected yet distinguishable stages, some elaboration upon the specifics associated with each stage is deemed necessary. While these elaborations are generally descriptive in nature, specific attention is paid to the changing role of the researcher, and to changes or differences in the focus of research in each phase. In addition, this section is intended to provide some insight into the problems of participant observation research in a cross-cultural setting and into some of the solutions that were attempted.

Phase One: The First Field Trip

The first field trip to the Northwest Territories was preceeded by a period of familiarization with the available literature on the region and on the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in particular. Up to date information pertaining to the Indian people in the area, and Indian-white relations there, was rather scanty and was accordingly supplemented by conversations with several people who had lived and worked there.[37] Although much of the information that was obtained in this preliminary period was useful in an historical sense, the realities of the current situation in the North, the changes that were taking place, etc., were to be discovered only during the field work itself. The rapid pace of change and development in the North in general and in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in particular, even as the research progressed, contributed greatly to the problems of collecting and interpreting data.

The entrance made into the North by the researcher was somewhat difficult in the sense that he had no prior experience in the area, with the peoples, the relationships, the situations, and the problems that were encountered. While this did create some problems and difficulties at first, particularly in establishing contacts among the Indian people, there were, in the long run, positive consequences to this which far outweighed the problems. In particular, it is felt that this relatively 'naive' approach to the area of research effectively minimized preconceptions and prejudgements which might have affected the research. As it was, the situation was entirely new and the researcher was able to observe and record without the influence of previous contacts and with, hopefully, an open mind.

The role that was initially assumed in this phase of the research was essentially that of an observer only; a tourist visiting the North. It was felt, and subsequent events have supported this, that the neutral role of tourist-observer would be the most appropriate one to assume until a degree of familiarity had been achieved with the community as a whole and with the broader 'public' aspects of intergroup relations in the area. As 'tourists' living in a tent at a public campground outside Yellowknife, the researcher and his wife were able to move throughout the town and surrounding area without attracting undue attention. Although financial considerations influenced this choice of preliminary residence, the major reason was that the only available accommodation was in the predominantly white areas of Yellowknife. It was felt that such a residence might have negatively affected the neutral role that was being played at that time, as well as possibly creating unnecessary difficulties in establishing the desired contacts with the Indian people. Thus, at this early stage, the researcher was able to meet and talk with many people, both Indian and white, and at the same time was able to avoid premature involvement and subsequent identification with any particular segment of the population. This also allowed the researcher to maintain maximum mobility in the community in order to permit the necessary preliminary general observations.

During the first week and a half in the field, attention was focused upon the collection of observational information in the town of Yellowknife and vicinity and preliminary data on the inter-group relations in the area. Of particular importance were the observations concerning the population as a whole, the economic and business sectors, visible residence and occupational patterns of both Indians and whites, observable intergroup association patterns and the overtly and covertly expressed attitudes of members of each group toward the other. This information was collected during the course of many walks through all sections of Yellowknife and visits to, and conversations in, most of the business establishments, recreation areas, and other places of congregation such as restaurants, bars and the court.

During this early stage it was possible, by playing the role of the tourist, to enter into conversation with, and thus gather information from, a reasonable cross-section of the Yellowknife population. Included in this early group were both whites and Indians, representing an occupational and economic spectrum ranging from government officials, court and legal personnel, Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, and businessmen, through pilots, sales clerks, waitresses, construction workers and miners to trappers, prospectors, fishermen and the unemployed. Many of the people whom the researcher met at this time were followed up later in the research. Throughout this period, as later, notes were made of both conversations and observations made in the community. Of necessity, these were recorded in private as soon as possible after the event.

During this initial period, a brief visit was made to Fort Rae for the purpose of recording preliminary observations of a comparable personal, residential and institutional nature. A similar procedure was followed, consistent with the role of a tourist: walking through the community, visiting the few businesses, and talking to as many people as possible. Comparisons of similarities and differences between observations made in Fort Rae and in Yellowknife were noted for future reference. Over time, a relatively coherent picture of the situation of Indians and Indian - white relations in the area began to emerge. This was, of course, a rather superficial picture at that time but did serve as an aid in the development of the research and as a later point of comparison and reference.

One of the major purposes of this preliminary stage, aside from the collection of information, was to gradually become a familiar figure in the community, especially to the Indian population. It was felt that a better and more complete entrance into the community for a longer period of time, especially into the Indian community, could be made by a somewhat more familiar figure than by a complete stranger. Later, when extensive personal contacts were made within the Indian population, it was noted that this technique had been successful. This is to say that not a few persons had become rather curious about the researcher and his activities in the town during the early period.[38] The role of the tourist apparently lasted about a week before the curiosity began because, it was reported, few visitors stayed much longer than that without some specific and known purpose.

Gradually, as the preliminary observer stage of the research was completed, the researcher began to focus attention on the task of establishing more permanent contacts among the Indians. The information gained during this period, particularly that which related to the areas of overt and covert conflict between Indians and whites was quite useful in this endeavour. The research role which was considered to best suit this purpose, and which would enable the researcher to gain maximum information, was that of "observer as participant". It seemed that only in this way could sufficient and adequate information be obtained from the Indian people who, it had been noted were rather reluctant to maintain close relations with non-Indians, especially those who were relative strangers.

Contacts of a much more permanent and comprehensive nature were made with, and largely developed through, the representatives of the Indian-Eskimo Association in Yellowknife. In several early discussions with them at their office the fact emerged that the permanent Indian-Eskimo Association representative, a man from the Mackenzie Delta region, and the researcher had a mutually esteemed acquaintance in the south. This piece of unexpected good fortune considerably eased the initial relationships with the Indian people, aided in the development of friendships and understandings, and facilitated the explanation of the presence of the researcher and the purposes of the researcher. Thus, because of the good relationships which had been established rather quickly with the Indian-Eskimo Association personnel, especially the permanent representative, contacts with other Indian leaders were achieved much more readily than the researcher had expected. Not only was the researcher soon introduced to many other influential Indians, but the introductions were made in a manner which seemed to considerably reduce the suspicion which might otherwise have been directed toward a non-Indian. R. H. Wax summarizes rather well the different feelings of the researcher at this time and the major reason for the changes.

> Once the fieldworker has managed to establish some reciprocal relationships with his hosts, he will find, sometimes very suddenly, that his anxieties and his feelings of incompetence and stupidity have decreased to a marked degree and that he is able to work on a new and very encouraging level of competence. ----Usually the essential factor in this transformation is the assistance and support - the reciprocal social response - given him by some of his hosts.[39]

The most significant contacts which were made in this manner were with a number of young Indians who were then working with the Company of Young Canadians in the area. These 'volunteers' were at that time engaged in gathering information on Treaty Number Eleven and, at the same time, were working with the Indian-Eskimo Association toward the establishment of an Indian Brotherhood in the Northwest Territories. As many of these people were from Fort Rae, the researcher was able, over time, to widen his circle of acquaintances and contacts there. The importance of these initial and lasting contacts stemmed, in part, from the role that they were playing in the development of the Indian Brotherhood, and in part from the fact that they were generally well regarded by other Fort Rae people. Thus, because the researcher visited Fort Rae with them, stayed with them, and so on, open and accepted movement in that community was made much easier.

As was noted earlier, the researcher and his wife had been living in a tent outside Yellowknife while the preliminary observations and initial contacts were being made. However, with the transition of the researcher's role from "observer" to "observer as participant", and with the development of close contacts among the Indian people, the previously helpful isolation became a hindrance. While Indian contacts occasionally visited the camp, close and continuous participation, now an integral part of the research, was severely limited. Accordingly, during the third week, the researcher began to quietly look for a residence in Yellowknife itself; preferably one which would maximize already established contacts and aid in the development of new ones.[40]

The problem of finding suitable accommodation has already been mentioned but this difficulty was solved unexpectedly by an invitation to live with an Indian volunteer with the Company of

Young Canadians and his wife. This was close to being a perfect situation as their house was located on Latham Island in the heart of the Indian section of Yellowknife. In addition, constant contact could be maintained with other young Indian leaders as many of their meetings and discussions took place in this house. Many new contacts were also made in this place of residence as many people from Fort Rae visited or stayed here while in Yellowknife. This contact, and the friendship which developed, was one of the most important relationships which was made during the entire research period.

Through the Indian-Eskimo Association and Company of Young Canadians workers, the researcher was able to establish contact with the Fort Rae chief and several of the band councillors. Through them contacts were also made with chiefs and councillors from other Indian settlements in the area, and the researcher on several occasions was able to discuss Indian-white problems with them and listen to their discussions.[41] From time to time the researcher was able to attend meetings of Indian people ranging from discussions of band affairs at Fort Rae, to organizational meetings of the Indian Brotherhood, a meeting of the Yellowknife area chiefs, and meetings of Indian leaders with government officials.

Several problems were encountered during the first field trip and several critical decisions had to be made which have no doubt had an effect on the results of the entire research project. Apart from the difficulties encountered in adjusting to the relative isolation of the North, the most obvious problem involved the cultural differences between the researcher and the Indian people. It was necessary, because of living with an Indian family, to make adjustments not only in life style but also in some areas of thought and perception. For example, two of the main areas demanding adjustment were related to differing conceptions of time, and ideas of sharing resources. By way of illustration, having a car involved the expectation that the researcher would offer a ride to acquaintances walking between Latham Island and the business section of Yellowknife, in addition to providing transportation for friends whenever requested. These and other difficulties in adjustment were largely overcome, thanks to the patience of Indian friends. Language differences posed somewhat of a problem throughout the research, but in most instances there was someone who was willing to translate.

A major decision had to be made rather early in the first field trip concerning the degree of secrecy or openness with which the research was to be conducted once contacts were made with the Indian people. The decision was taken, primarily on ethical grounds, to explain the goals of the research as fully as possible, especially to the key, influential people. While this explanation was necessarily somewhat simplified, the broad purposes of the research were readily understood and accepted. Indeed, it was felt that this openness paid substantial dividends with respect to the information that was made available to the researcher. An identification appeared to be made of the researcher as someone who was interested in their situation and problems, as distinguished from a "prying" government official. On several occasions, for instance, the researcher was requested to perform some task for the Indian interests, and it was always expected that he would comply. This identification of the researcher by the Indians allowed entry into meetings, participation in discussions and the development of contacts which would otherwise have not been possible or at least extremely difficult.

There were negative effects of this primary association with Indian people, largely demonstrated by a less than positive labelling of the researcher by some segments of the non-Indian community. However, these were in part overcome through contacts made by the researcher's wife in the course of her work.[42] She in turn was also able to establish better preliminary contacts and relationships with Indian women than was the researcher, a fact that further opened up information channels.

Phase Two: The Interim Period

The period of time between the first and second field trips was primarily a time of re-evaluation of concepts, assessments of the information that had been obtained during the first field trip, and of preparation for the second. However, at the same time, the contacts and friendships which had resulted from the first field trip, especially with a number of Indian people, were maintained through personal contacts and through correspondence. The formation of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories meant that many of its officials were often arriving in, or passing through, Edmonton to confer with government officials or other Indian organizations. Most of these people, who for the most part were also friends of the researcher, visited him at his home in Edmonton; usually staying for at least a day or two at a time.

Other Indian people from the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area who arrived in Edmonton for a variety of reasons also stayed with the researcher for periods of up to a week at a time. On several occasions the persons who arrived were almost complete strangers from that area who had been given the researcher's address and telephone number by friends. On most of these occasions, there was no advance warning of an impending visit apart from a telephone call from the airport or bus terminal or the sound of a car horn outside the house. All together, there were more than thirty separate occasions when people from the North visited the researcher in Edmonton, involving between one and twelve persons at a time.

Basically, the major factor which was involved in these visits was an extension of the value of reciprocal sharing and hospitality. While in the North on the first field trip the researcher and his wife had shared the hospitality and the homes of Indian people and it was expected that reciprocal hospitality would be provided when they were in Edmonton. Through this frequent and intensive contact and interaction with persons from the North, the researcher was able to keep in close contact with developments in the situation in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area. These visitors included Indian Brotherhood officials, ordinary band members and, on one occasion, the chief, three of the band councillors and their interpreter from Fort Rae. The visiting relationships illustrated above point out rather well the acceptance on the part of most Indians of the partisan participant stance taken by the researcher.

During this time the researcher made one visit of a week's duration to Yellowknife and Fort Rae in response to a request by the Indian Brotherhood for assistance and consultation concerning one of their developing programs. Later, having moved from Alberta to New Brunswick, contacts were still maintained both by mail and by telephone with people in the North, although they were of course much less frequent.

Phase Three: The Second Field Trip

This final segment of the research consisted of a second field trip to the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area during the months of July and August, 1971. On this occasion, the researcher went alone but was able to be much more specific and intensive in conducting the research because of the numerous contacts that had been made during the first field trip. As a result, the adjustments and preliminary observation period of the first trip were minimized; the actual participant observation among the Indian people beginning almost immediately. The most important single difference between the two field trips was that while most of the time on the first occasion had been spent in Yellowknife, all but a few days of the second trip were spent in Fort Rae.

The first three days in the North were spent living in a hotel in Yellowknife. This period of time allowed the researcher to assess changes that had occurred in the area: in the Indian organizations; in the physical, social, economic and political aspects of the situation; and in overall Indian-white relations. In addition to re-establishing many old contacts during this time, the researcher was able to make quite a number of new ones. The most significant of these were made with new members of the now much enlarged Indian Brotherhood. Although many of the new people were already aware of the research being conducted, through friends and correspondence, it was now possible to provide much more specific information first hand. Continual research really involved continuing support of the Indian Brotherhood and this was obtained with little difficulty.

Following this brief exploratory period, the researcher moved to Fort Rae, having been invited to live there with an Indian family who were friends from the first field trip, again illustrating the acceptance of the researcher as a partisan participant. With the exception of a few days, residence was maintained with this family in Fort Rae for the remainder of the summer.

The major difficulty which was encountered in Fort Rae was that of communication. While most of the contacts made in Yellowknife during the first field trip had some knowledge of English, a far greater proportion of the population of Fort Rae spoke only Dogrib. This was particularly true of the older people who had had, for the most part, little or no exposure to formal education. Several friends who were bilingual spent a considerable amount of time during the summer acting as interpreters.

However, in an attempt to establish closer contacts with the Indian people the researcher made a concerted effort to learn at least some elementary Dogrib. Members of the family with whom the researcher was living spent considerable time, and exercised considerable patience, in the course of teaching a limited vocabulary.

As they spoke almost no English, this was an interesting experience for all concerned, to say the least. The difficulties encountered in this enterprise, particularly with unaccustomed sounds, were often a source of amusement for both 'teachers' and neighbours who frequently attended these sessions. By the end of the summer, although no great proficiency was ever achieved, the researcher was able to conduct brief and basic conversations in Dogrib. Tangentially, the mere attempt to learn and use the language aided considerably in establishing rapport with many people in the community, being an exercise few non-Indians seemed to attempt.

Another problem which was encountered periodically throughout the summer was the mistaken assumption of many new acquaintances that the researcher was an "official" of one sort or another. This was made even more confusing because the researcher was living with an Indian family. Although considerable effort was made to correct this impression, from time to time individuals persisted in placing the researcher in this role. On several occasions, for example, requests were made for intervention with the "government" on behalf of individuals, families, and the band as a whole. The most frequent approaches to the researcher were, however, for advice in dealing with government agencies and as a sounding board for grievances. Under these circumstances, a great deal of valuable unsolicited information was obtained and many new contacts were made.

During this field trip, the life style of the Indian people was followed as closely as possible, as had been the practice before. The researcher ate the same food, went fishing with the men, attended and participated in dances, played checkers with the older men and so forth. Little close contact was made with the non-Indian population of Fort Rae, although the researcher spoke to most of them at one time or another. This was decided upon partly because of the possibility of jeopardising relations with the Indians, and partly because many of the non-Indians seemed to regard the researcher with a degree of suspicion. By living in this fashion, it was possible for the researcher to become personally acquainted with many of the problems and frustrations encountered by the Indian people in their daily lives and to become aware of their attitudes and responses to them.

An attempt was made to meet and converse with as many people as possible during the field trip; people who represented a broad cross-section of the community. The results of these conversations, as well as the personal observations of the researcher, were again recorded as soon as possible after the event. This was sometimes rather difficult because of the lack of privacy in the house where the researcher lived and therefore often necessitated a walk away from the settlement. Throughout the summer the researcher attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible in the community although, being white and living with an Indian family, a certain degree of attention was gained.

SUMMARY

The field work for this study was conducted with the researcher acting as a participant observer in the situation being studied. During the two field trips, the first involving primarily the situation in Yellowknife and the second focusing almost entirely on Fort Rae, the researcher became well acquainted with most aspects of life in the two communities. In addition, through informants and personal observations and experiences, the researcher became aware of the relationships existing between the two communities at the formal, organizational level and at the informal, individual level.

However since the researcher's participation was predominantly with the Indian people in the two communities, the observations made undoubtedly reflected this relative perspective. As pointed out earlier, pure "scientific objectivity" and detachment, particularly in participant observation research, should be regarded as a myth. The researcher not only brings his own concerns to the research setting but also, through his active participation in the life of the group studied, cannot but be influenced to some degree by their concerns as well. Therefore it seems much more appropriate to use the term "partisan observer" to describe the researcher's general role and perspective in this type of situation. It would have been extremely difficult to have gained entrance into the Indian community and the information reported here by other methods, considering the Indian-white, subordinate-dominant relationships in the area.

The researcher found, as W.F. Whyte has noted, that acceptance into the research setting, particularly by the group of primary concern, depended far more upon personal acceptance than upon any explanations about the research that were offered.[43] The major factor, however, was the acceptance and introductions made by key figures in the group being studied. To this end, the researcher made, as Whyte had done, "a particular effort to provide really full information" to group leaders.[44] Through such persons extensive access was gained to most aspects of family, community, social and organizational life. Because of the selection of the "observer as participant" role, and its partisan nature, the researcher was able to be accepted in the situation although still an outsider, to observe and note phenomena as they happened, and yet to influence group life to the least degree possible.

CHAPTER III - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

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17 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

18 Ibid., p. 37.

19 Ibid., p. 37.

20 Bruyn, S.T., op. cit., p. 19.

21 Ibid., p. 18.

22 Jarvie, I.C., "The Problem of Ethical Integrity in Participant Observation", Current Anthropology, Vol. 10, #5, (Dec. 1958), p. 506.

23 Lohman, J.D., op. cit., p. 891.

24 Kluckhohn, F.R., op. cit., p. 336.

25 Jarvie, I.C., op. cit., p. 505.

26 Ibid., p. 505.

27 Vidich, A.J., op. cit., p. 356.

28 Whyte, W.F., Street Corner Society - The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, (2nd ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 337.

29 A term suggested by Dr. A.K. Davis in correspondence with the author.

30 W.F. Whyte discusses this in the context, analagous to that found in the North, of two groups in conflict both of which the researcher wished information about.

Whyte, W.F., op. cit., p. 306.

31 Tax, S., "The Fox Project", Human Organization, Vol. 17, #1, (Spring, 1958), p. 17. For detailed discussion of the action anthropology approach referred to by Tax, see also:

Gearing, F., R. Netting and L.R. Peattie (eds.), Documentary History of the Fox Project, 1948-1959: A Program in Action Anthropology, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1960.

32 The researcher, for example, assisted in the development of a proposed Indian Brotherhood fieldworker training program, in the organization of a meeting for Company of Young Canadians Indian volunteers from across Canada and in the compilation of some material concerning Treaty Number Eleven. The researcher was also asked to assist in the investigation of the quality of water being consumed in Fort Rae and was instrumental in having tests conducted.

33 Wax, R.H., Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971, p. 14.

34 Whyte, W.F., op. cit., p. 305.

35 Ibid., pp. 304-305.

36 Was, R.H., op. cit., p. 55.

37 I would like to offer special thanks here to Mr. R. Tompkins who gave freely of his time for discussion and provided a number of valuable insights into the problems of Indian-white relations in this area and of conducting research there.

38 This curiosity was not restricted to the Indian people as was evidenced by a fairly friendly questioning by an R.C.M.P. constable following an early visit to a court session. Generally the non-Indians, particularly those in positions of authority, showed more open curiosity and suspicion than did the Indians.

39 Wax, R.H., op. cit., p. 20

40 A "we-they" distinction between Indians and whites was noted among members of both groups. As a result, the researcher, in order to make close contacts among the Indian people, begain to more openly identify and associate with them, somewhat at the expense of white contacts.

41 These discussions were almost always oriented toward one specific problem. (eg. - commercial fishing, a proposed national park, etc.)

42 Throughout most of the summer she worked at a children's home in Yellowknife and thus enabled contacts to be made with a variety of non-Indians, both government officials and private citizens.

43 Whyte, W.F., op. cit., p. 300.

44 Ibid., p. 301.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGING INDIAN - WHITE RELATIONS IN CANADA

CONTACT AND CHANGE

The combined processes of colonialism, colonization and capitalist exploitation which occurred in North America were, in many ways, similar to sequences of events that had taken place in many different parts of the world; particularly as they affected the indigenous peoples.[1] A. G. Frank, in Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, presents an account that closely resembles events in North America as the Europeans expanded their control over the continent.

> Thus the expansion and development of capitalism incorporated the Indian population into its exploitative monopoly structure immediately upon conquest, and the capitalist and his fast-growing cattle and sheep herds appropriated the Indian's land.[2]

In North America, as elsewhere, the rapid European colonial expansion of the last four centuries created situations of close and often long-lasting contact between Europeans and non-Europeans. These situations involved not only interaction between individuals of divergent backgrounds, but also interaction of the cultures of the Europeans and those of the indigenous peoples in the colonized areas. In Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the United States, for example, the similarities in the colonial and settlement processes extended to, and included, massive European immigration into the colonial area. The result, in each of these instances, has been a numerical superiority of Europeans, and those of European descent, over the indigenous native populations in a relatively short period of time, as well as dominance in most other aspects of life. In other types of colonial situations, South Africa and Rhodesia for example, those of European descent have remained a numerical minority but have nevertheless gained and maintained superiority in most other respects. Both types of case, however, involved patterns of European metropolitan domination and satellite colonial subordination of the indigenous peoples.

The European powers were able to gain this superordinate position, and to maintain it in the colonized areas, because of a number of factors. They had, within a context of expanding capitalism, developed the capacity and techniques necessary for the development of complex organizations, particularly in the military, economic, political and technological areas. Associated with these factors of capitalism and industrialism was the ability, and necessity, of establishing long-term enterprises which could function over great distances. These were aided significantly by advances in the technology of transportation and communications. However, as P. Worsley has pointed out, force, whether it has been used or not, "has always been the ultimate sanction" in both the processes of colonization and decolonization.[3] The combination of factors contributing to European domination have been noted by Worsley as follows.

> Technological and military superiority went hand in hand with organizational superiority, increasingly - indeed, often from the beginning -

> infused with an ethico-religious sense of divinely ordained inevitability.[4]

A major concomitant of these developments, then, was a rationalizing of the European attitudes and behaviour toward the indigenous peoples of the colonies; a significant factor in the continuing processes of exploitation of land and people. White supremacy, in other words, came to be rationalized as racial, therefore immutable; whiteness became a symbol of superiority even though being usually based on force and fraud.

> The superiority of the West seemed crushingly self-evident to both conquered and conquerors. It induced in the conquered a sense of inferiority and dependence, and its natural correlate, a belief in the inevitability - even the rightness - of white rule. The technological superiority of ships, typewriters, money, and machine guns, and White organizational superiority, seemed expressive of the overwhelming total superiority of Western 'rational spirit'.[5]

Even though the goals of capitalist colonization and settlement varied somewhat from situation to situation, as did the methods employed by the immigrants and the administrative structures they created, several important facets of the resultant situations were remarkably consistent. These were: (1) the creation of a social system in which the indigenous peoples were regarded as inferior to the Europeans; (2) the creation of a political system which institutionalized European dominance over the non-Europeans and; (3) the imposition of an economic system which ensured the perpetuation of European dominance in the social and political realms. In many instances in recent years, the rising tide of nationalism in the colonial nations, particularly in Africa and Asia, has caused the partial or total displacement of European domination in these areas. In other instances, North America, Australia and New Zealand for example, the sheer weight of numbers, or the use of threat of force by a white minority as in South Africa and Rhodesia, has perpetuated the subordinate position of the native peoples and the domination of the former colonizers and their administrations.

At the time of the first European contacts with North America, (excluding those of the Vikings), it is estimated that there were between 1.0 and 1.2 million people living on the continent north of the Rio Grande.[6] This relatively small native population was scattered over a land area which exceeded 6.5 million square miles and was composed of many distinct tribal entities and culture groups.[7] Canada, according to J. Mooney, had at this time an indigenous population of about 220,000[8] with a land area of well over 3.5 million square miles. In the organizational sense, native Indian group structures ranged from simple bands to large and complex tribal structures. Similarly, the cultures of the native groups ranged from the relatively simple to the relatively complex and sophisticated.[9]

In general, however, in terms of their material and value components, all of the indigenous North American cultures were well adapted to their environment. Survival of the peoples, if not a European standard of comfort, was usually assured. These cultures basically represented an accommodation between the people, the necessities of survival, and the natural and social environment.

The nature of these measures of accommodation was reflected in both the material aspects and value components of the cultures. The European colonizers and settlers brought with them to North America cultures with material and organizational aspects which were technologically far in advance of those of the indigenous peoples. The values and beliefs which were also introduced differed significantly from those of the vast majority of the native peoples. While the attitude of the native North Americans toward their environment, for example, was primarily that of respect and accommodation, the predominant attitude of the new immigrants was exploitative.

The technological, organizational, and value components of the European cultures reflected these attitudes, as those of the native peoples reflected theirs. During the initial phase of contact, benefits accrued to both groups.[10] But as Patterson points out:

> After this period of initial contact, the numbers and the impact of the European grew. The Indians had greeted the white men with hospitality in most cases, and did not realize the aims and intentions of their guests, nor appreciate that the European's coming was to prove to be an invasion, not a visit.[11]

The contacts which were established between the peoples of these two cultural configurations, and the extension and intensification of such contacts over time, came relatively close to the extermination of the Indian peoples and their cultures.[12]

The various Indian peoples of North America had no common conception of themselves as constituting a distinctive entity, as

"Indians".[13] The Indian contacts prior to the advent of the white man had been, by and large, limited to peoples of other tribes in their immediate vicinity, and each considered itself to be a relatively unique and separate group with relatively well defined territories. The incoming Europeans, however, tended to look upon the sparsely inhabited North American continent as "a wilderness".[14] In seeking access to these new lands and the resources there, particularly furs, trade and military alliances were initially formed between both the French and English and different Indian tribes.[15] These alliances, often formalized by treaties or other agreements, were extensively exploited by the European groups in combating each others influence in the fur trade and territorial expansion. Patterson notes early relationships and contrasts them with subsequent events as European immigration continued.

> At the time of first contact, Indians were treated as separate states or nations in much the same way as were their African or Asian counterparts. The later course of events has resulted in sharply differing situations for the Indian as compared with the other non-European peoples. The former have become a numerically overwhelmed people.[16]

Later in the course of events, many of the earlier made distinctions ceased and Indians came to be treated more and more in an undifferentiated manner.

> To the Europeans, however, their resemblances outweighed their differences. This may in part be a reflection of the Europeans' notion of the Indians' role in the European economy, which was primarily the ability to provide furs.[17]

Eventually, generalized administrative institutions and programs were designed and formalized to deal with the Indian population. In the long run though, it was the more advanced industrial and military technology, and especially the application of that technology to ruthless exploitation, as well as numerical strength which proved to be the major factors in determining the superiority and ultimate dominance of the whites in their ensuing conflicts with the Indians.

One of the major causes of the early conflict between whites and Indians, and one which has had serious and long-lasting effects, has been the issue of land. As Fey and McNickle point out: "the prime source of misunderstanding between these representatives of two traditions resulted from their quite different attitudes toward land."[18] The conflict of cultural values has been quite clearly demonstrated in this area and many of the other aspects of culture change and conflict can be seen as being directly related to it.

In the cultural tradition of the white European immigrants, land was regarded as a commercial or economic asset with a variable cash value. Land was a marketable or alienable commodity which an individual could own and hold solely for his own use and which he could dispose of at will, (fee simple). On the other hand, land was regarded in a much different light by the vast majority of the Indian peoples. Land was not regarded as individual or as saleable property in the sense of the European cultures; it rather belonged to all members of the kin group or tribe. Individual and group rights to the use of land were generally recognized, but outright individual ownership was not.

> In the Indian concept, land is not 'real estate'. True, it has value; its products can sustain people. But first of all, in the Indian sense, land stands for existence, identity, the place of belonging.[19]

The continued, often ruthless quest of the Europeans for land in North America, and the various processes involved, irreversibly disrupted the accommodative relationship of the Indians and their environment, as well as the identity relationship noted above. In time, the major portion of what had once been Indian territory, the continent, was alienated from them by one means or another, including the preponderant elements of force and fraud. The Indian peoples had not realized the full extent to which white immigration and the desire for new land would be carried.

The conflicting approaches of whites and Indians with respect to land were however only one aspect of the overall situation of contact and of the disruptive effects of contact on the Indians and their cultures. In Canada, the most significant factor in the relationship between Indians and whites and the precursor of land related conflicts, was the inexorable progress of the fur trade. The fur trade, although relatively unimportant until the second half of the sixteenth century, increased rapidly in extent and importance due to increased European demands for furs and Indian demands for European goods.[20] The fur trade and the associated facets of Indian incorporation into a new competitive economic system tended to break down many aspects of traditional group solidarity.

As an individual, the Indian became dependent,

> not upon his own social organization or his own native skills, but upon the government of the white man and the weapons and articles of European manufacture which the white man had to sell.[21]

With the increasing demands from both groups, pressures of competition between the English and French, and the depletion of furs in the east, the focus of the fur trade in Canada shifted continually westward. This westward expansion precipitated, or was accompanied by, such things as: the spread of disease, smallpox in particular; increased and more violent inter-tribal Indian warfare with better weapons as groups expanded into others' territories; and a general increasing reliance of the Indians on European goods. The general pattern of this expansion may be described as an adaptation of European monopoly organizations[22] expanding outward from a central core through series of outposts.[23] As Innis points out:

> The rapid destruction of the beaver had an important influence on the spread of the disturbance to the interior and the fur trade was fundamental in determining the lines it followed but it was incidental to the driving forces of the demand for European goods.[24]

Although the extension of the fur trade into the Canadian west brought many more Indians into direct or indirect contact with European goods and culture, the immediate effects were less severe because of the "outpost" rather than settlement type of expansion.

> As a result of these difficulties, (of obtaining adequate food and transportation to the interior) as well as of monopoly control, the penetration of European goods to the interior was less rapid and had less disastrous effects on the Indians than on the St. Lawrence. Changes in Indian economy were made more gradually.[25]

The fur trade eventually gave way to agricultural and ultimately industrial development and extensive settlement which led to even greater disruptions of the Indian culture, economy and way of life.

The continuing contact with the various representatives of the European culture complex produced many less dramatic changes and pressures for change among the Indian people. Consciously and unconsciously, the traders and explorers, the missionaries and administrative agents brought and imposed numerous new cultural items within the scope of the Indian peoples. Some of these involved primarily aspects of material culture while others were facets of value culture. Many of the new material elements of culture; guns, new clothing, iron implements and the like, were fairly readily accepted and incorporated into the Indian cultures. In many cases, these created effective and long-lasting changes as they displaced traditional items of culture. As Jenness has noted in this respect:

> Stone tools and weapons gave place to tools and weapons of iron; cooking vessels of clay, skin, bark, and wood to metal pots; the fire-stick to the flint and steel, and bows and arrows to firearms. Once a tribe had made these changes it could not revert to its former conditions because it had lost most of its earlier skill in chipping knives and arrowheads of flint, in grinding out stone axes, and fashioning serviceable bows.[26]

E. E. Rich, in The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857 makes this same point.[27]

The pressures placed on the value and belief aspects of Indian cultures were generally resisted much more strongly, even though circumstances often combined to break down this resistance over time. But, regardless of the cultural elements accepted or rejected by the Indians, the processes of acculturation were well under way with many facets of traditional culture yielding to the overt and covert pressures mounted against them.

> Contact between them was inevitable: and contact just as inevitably posed the problem of acculturation. Despite their early superiority in numbers, the Indians were unable to completely withstand the impact of a more highly developed civilization.[28]

As the inevitable processes of subjugation by strength of arms, weight of numbers, and political and administrative maneuvering moved further into the Canadian hinterland, the Indian peoples were more and more pushed to the periphery of the social, economic and geographic arenas. As settlement and pressure on the land increased during the last half of the nineteenth century, more and more Indian peoples were eventually confined on small, often isolated reserve areas. According to G.F.G. Stanley, the early treaties were, by the 1830's, deemed to be no longer sufficient to deal with the Indians in the light of rapidly expanding settlement. As a result, there was considerable pressure to get the Indians to settle in certain defined areas,[29] out of the way of "progress" as it were. The reservation system as it developed, particularly in the west, may be seen as an integral part of the "National Policy" as elaborated by V. Fowke[30] although he does not include it in his conceptualization. In order to promote western development therefore, and to facilitate settlement and agricultural expansion, the Indians were moved, reluctantly or by force, onto reserves.[31] Stanley further described this aspect of the "National Policy": the reservation system, its goals and functioning.

> For all these Indians the Canadian government has the same object: to train them in habits of self-support within the economic structure of the country, and to encourage them to adopt the religions and the culture of the whites. Tutelage and guardianship are the means, and complete enfranchisement the end. The bitter destiny toward which they move is cultural extinction, or to put it more mildly, cultural assimilation.[32]

An important consequence of the expanding prairie settlement and displacement of the existing populations was the "Red River Rebellion" of the Metis under Louis Riel in 1869. This was, according to Stanley: "...the rising of a small primitive, native community against economic and racial absorption by an unfamiliar, aggressive civilization".[33] This event was however but the forerunner of a much more significant event, in this context; the "North-West Rebellion" of 1885. The Indians that responded to Riel's exhortations were nonetheless responding to their own conditions of inadequate land and food, and the realization that the imposed treaties and reserves were final. This may be seen as the final attempt of Indians to resist the white invasion of their lands. With the suppression of the rebellion, the defeat and subordination of the Indian peoples was virtually complete and they truly entered what Patterson has described as the "reserve - colonial period"; a period of Indian irrelevance.

> For the Indian it was the period of his irrelevance to Canadian life. He came under national government administration and the

> systematization of directed culture change. This was the completion of the conquest of his territory.[34]

The restriction to confined and officially enforced stable residential patterns, markedly different from their traditional way of life, further increased the continuing pressures for change. In order to merely survive, new patterns of subsistence had to be attempted which, in many cases, conflicted with traditional values and ways of life. All too often such attempts, because of lack of experience or assistance, met with little success and the older hunting and trapping patterns were relied upon for survival. The result was, for many, increasing dependence on assistance of one sort or another. In this new situation of institutionalized dependence on external agencies, Indians continued to be under steadily increasing pressures for change in most aspects of life.

Changes in many areas of Indian life proceeded fairly relentlessly due to the increased power, influence, and control of the white institutions, particularly enhanced after the adoption of the Indian Act of 1876. Administration and tribal leadership was to a great extent effectively supplanted by the administrative agents and the bureaucracies of the government. In many cases, new methods of leader or chief selection were imposed and often they in turn became little more than figureheads.[35] Regulations and laws imposed by white agencies often conflicted with the traditional practices and customs but were enforced none the less. The representatives of the religious bodies who attempted to convert the Indians to one form of Christianity or another interfered considerably with traditional religious beliefs and practices. In some cases, such as with the Sun Dance, they aided in applying sufficient pressure to have traditional practices outlawed. In this instance, and in others where there had been nominal conversion, many of the traditional beliefs and customs were nevertheless kept alive at the same time. In all fairness, it should be noted that the missionaries were often the major, if not the only, source of assistance that was available to the Indians because of general government and public apathy and indifference.

The history of the contact between Indians and non-Indians in Canada has generally been related closely to broad areas of economic change. The immediate effects of Indian-white interaction as well as the cumulative effects of such interaction have been directly connected with the economic inter-relationships between them and their differential participation in the economic system. In many instances, as Patterson points out, this has tended to be or to develop into a one-sided relationship.

> The history of the Indians of Canada for the last several hundred years has exhibited an acceleration of change. The impetus for change during this period has shifted from the Indian to the European. More and more, voluntary change has been replaced by coerced change.[36]

Patterson has also provided a framework for the discussion of such changes involving four phases of the history of contact between Indians and whites in Canada.[37]

During the first phase, that of the initial contacts between whites and Indians, there was minimal disruption of the Indian cultures and economy. Contact itself was rather limited and that which did occur was regarded as beneficial by both whites and Indians. By and large, the Indians during this period were able to remain relatively independent of the incoming Europeans. Although using rather more specific references, J. Helm and E.B. Leacock[38] and D. Damas,[39] writing about the boreal Indians and Eskimos respectively, make similar observations about this period of early contact.

The second phase, that of fur trade dependence, saw a growing entanglement of the Indians in the Euro-Canadian economy, especially the fur trade. As the Indians became more closely tied to the whites and the economics of the fur trade, they became more and more dependent upon the whites in many areas of life. There was considerable disruption of the traditional Indian cultures during this period, often of a deliberate nature, as both Helm and Leacock[40] and Damas[41] also indicate, particularly with respect to the influence of the missionaries. By the end of this period, the Indians had become almost totally subordinated to the whites, economically, politically, and militarily, and were being increasingly moved off their land to make room for the influx of white agrarian settlers.

The third phase, the reserve-colonial period of complete dependence of the Indian peoples, was marked by general social, political and economic isolation of the Indians from the rest of the Canadian society. With the declining importance of the fur trade and the fact that most of the Indians were on reserves and therefore out of the way of development, so to speak, they became generally "irrelevant" to the Euro-Canadian society and its development. This was also a period of heightened pressures for assimilation and acculturation upon the Indian people. The main orientation of the government toward the Indians during this period is well illustrated by Helm and Leacock.

> As government in its many branches assumes responsibility for the alleviation of the poverty, illiteracy and health problems of the Indian, it increasingly requires the involvement of the Indian - predominantly in the form of accommodation and submission to the Euro-Canadian sociocultural system.[42]

Specific dates have not been cited for these phases as they vary considerably from location to location in the country as white expansion moved in general east-west and south-north directions. Indians in different areas came into contact with whites, and went through these phases at different times. With respect to Canada as a whole, the fourth phase, that of Indian reassertion, may however be considered as beginning during the late 1940's and 1950's and continuing and strengthening to the present. This phase has involved the growth of Indian self - consciousness and an increasing awareness of their subordinate "colonial" status. The major result has been the development and proliferation of Indian organizations "for protest and redress of grievances". Stanley noted in this connection that in the late 1940's and early 1950's there was an increasingly vigorous cultural "renaissance" and emerging feelings of nationhood among the Indian peoples of Canada. He foresaw an increasing movement of "Pan-Indianism and associated sentiments" from the more central areas of contact and development in the country to the "Indian nations living on the periphery".[43]

CONFLICT: THE EFFECTS OF WHITE DOMINATION

The conflict that is referred to here has two main dimensions,[44] both stemming from a common source: the economic exploitation, expropriation, population decimation, and attempted cultural eradication that were a part of the process of subjugation of Indian peoples in Canada by the whites. On the one hand, the most noticeable area of conflict has been between whites and Indians; as members of dominant and subordinate populations and as representatives of divergent cultural traditions. On the other hand, there has been conflict within the Indian groups themselves occasioned by differential acceptance of, and more importantly, resistance to, white domination and pressures for assimilation. Generally speaking, however, the Indian peoples have suffered the most from these conflicts; having no real access to positions of economic or political power and being at the same time a small numerical minority. Continuing prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices have been a significant factor in inter-group conflicts and, to an extent, in intra-group conflicts.

Since the time of first contact with the Indians in Canada, whites have seized and maintained their control over the positions of power and decision-making. With respect to the Indian peoples, continuing white domination in the economic institutions, from the fur trade to modern industrialization, and in the political arena where Indians have been considered to be wards of the government, has perpetuated the bases of conflict. In both governmental and economic areas of decision-making, control has been exercised from central metropolitan areas of power and often extended through representatives and branch-centres.[45] Through such power structures, the dominant white interests have been able to maintain their exploitative relationship with the hinterlands and, either directly or through representatives, have been able to coerce changes in the Indian cultures. The degree to which these pressures for change have been effective and the degree to which they have been successfully resisted has varied considerably from one contact situation to another. Similarly, the type and extent of the conflict engendered has also varied considerably. However, whether there has been resistance or acceptance on the part of the Indians, the general dominant-subordinate relationship between whites and Indians has remained as the basic factor in the intergroup situations.

The most consistent result of the long history of Indian-white contact in Canada has thus been the hierarchical relationship established between the groups in which the dominant white group has utilized the various means of coercing change that it has had at its command. This factor and the resistance that has increasingly been offered by the Indian people have led to conflict in several major areas. In the political area, the traditional leadership structures and functions[46] have been supplanted under the Indian Act by the band councils. Dosman notes that these tended to be "rubber stamps" for government policies and:

> The band council, in short, was the officially recognized body with which the Indian Agent dealt in his dealings with the band. The Indians had no say in the setting-up of this political system and the Chief and Councillors of the band council were chosen

> 'according to the customs of the band,' that is, by the Indian Agent.[47]

A further illustration of this may be seen in the varying regulations, federal and provincial, that had governed and restricted Indian voting rights.[48] As Hawthorn points out:

> The general prohibition of voting privileges denied Indians the possession of one of the most central symbols of membership in the Canadian political system.[49]

In a similar manner white dominance in the educational system and its institutions that were imposed on the Indians, and in the overall economic system, has tended to both promulgate change and provide foci for conflict. C.W. Hobart[50] and A.R. King[51] illustrate many of the inadequacies and problems of an educational system transposed from the Euro-Canadian culture. Hobart, for example, notes that:

> There is much evidence to suggest that teachers in schools for Indian and Eskimo children in North America tend to be parochial, compulsively conventional, prejudiced against the pupils in their classrooms, shockingly unaware of the differences between the cultures of themselves and their students, and lacking in respect and appreciation for the culture of the children they teach.[52]

Generally, the Indian peoples have been kept in a subordinate position in the hierarchies of power and, as such, have had little opportunity to influence the relationship. Indeed, the hierarchies have consistently operated in such a fashion as to preclude such opportunities. In many ways, the Indian position has been one of a choice between equally unacceptable alternatives: total acceptance and assimilation by the dominant group or total rejection and strict isolation.

Closely interrelated with the dominant-subordinate relationship in each of the above-mentioned spheres of societal life have been the connotations and definitions of race. Attitudes and practices reflecting opinions of relative "racial" superiority and inferiority have certainly been a part of white-Indian relations. These have been most clearly visible in the long-lasting, derogatory stereotypes that have been fostered and perpetuated by the mass media, in legislation and in the educational system. Such conceptions of "racial" and cultural inferiority on the part of the dominant group and their perpetuation, have had a direct effect on the imposition of pressures for change and resulting conflicts. However, the conception of relative "racial" and cultural superiority and inferiority, particularly as it has referred to values, beliefs and associated institutions, has not been readily accepted by Indian peoples. There has been a steadily increasing resistance to the imposition of changes in these areas.

While the long-term effects of culture change that has already taken place are a subject of some dispute, it has been noted that the generally assimilationist-oriented programs have in several major ways been ineffective. The reserve system was intended to be, according to Dosman, the: "forcing grounds for the inculcation of 'white' values and religion, until the Indian could be assimilated into the larger society".[53] On the other hand, however, the reserves and the general isolation of the Indians from the mainstream of Canadian society, have contributed greatly to the failure of this policy. In his examination of the situation of a northern Ojibwa band, R.W. Dunning notes that traders, missionaries, and government representatives have had a variety of influences upon the band but that:

> ...the social structure has become adjusted to these changes and, Pekangekum society is functioning as a remote and isolated woodland group on the basis of the older structural form.[54]

The effects of social and often geographic isolation have frequently been noted in connection with the operation of educational institutions and their relations with the Indians. Whether under federal or provincial jurisdiction, educational policies as a whole have been directed toward white middle class society and white middle class values. However, as A. Renaud has observed, Indian children bring to the school system a different socioeconomic, cultural, and community background.[55] Although the initial approach to the educational system may have been one of some willingness to utilize this channel of mobility into the larger society, as King suggests, the realities of the situation, including white-established barriers to full identification, are soon readily apparent.[56] It has been the discontinuities inherent in the educational processes as they have related to the Indians that have created the greatest number of problems, and conflicts. Continually shifting between two different social and cultural milieus in the course of the years of schooling, the Indian student experiences conflicts in terms of values, beliefs, customs, authority relationships, and so forth expressed in his home community and family and those that are a part of the school and relationships there.[57] Sindell, for example, notes that:

> ...the children are reinforced in the school for submissive, non-exploratory behavioral patterns. These contravene their previous experiences, which led to self-reliant and exploratory behaviors highly adaptive for life in the bush.[58]

The major common result of these processes and the conflicts they create is, according to Hawthorn, a problem of identity and self concept. "By seeking to make the child less 'Indian' and, by implication, more 'middle-class White', the school is asking him to become a different person."[59]

Because of these problems there is the likelihood of increased resistance to change, particularly with respect to the more resistant "...core culture values, basic cultural orientations and personality...", despite changes in the material culture.[60] In a similar vein, King has noted that:

> Thus, long before the end of experiences at the residential school, the fundamental barriers between Whiteman and Indian are firmly developed, not so much by a conscious rejection on the part of the Whiteman as by a conscious rejection on the part of the Indian child.[61]

Similar general tendencies are reported in the American literature on American Indian culture change by a number of authors.[62]

A major factor in the preservation of aspects of traditional Indian culture, especially distinctive values and institutions, as well as in the conflicts between Indians and whites, has been the reserve system itself. The loss of most Indian land and forced relocation onto reserves has resulted in a transfer of land-related values and attitudes to the reserve lands. This minimal land base and, in many instances, its isolation, has functioned in part as a mechanism for maintaining aspects of Indian culture and identity. With respect to the isolation factor and its effects, Gold[63] and Dunning[64] both point to initial and continuing isolation of Indians and their reserves as being factors contributing to the maintenance of aspects of traditional culture.

However, the sheer pressures of rapidly growing populations and limited size and resources of most reserves, in addition to continual acculturative pressures from other sources,[65] have doubtless combined to force many Indians into the larger, non-Indian society.

Many of those involved in this out-migration are drifting to urban centres where they increasingly experience difficulties because of the lack of, or inadequate, education, skills, etc., necessary for effective competition in an urban industrial environment. This is frequently compounded by cultural differences and culturally related orientations and reactions ranging from indifference to hostility from both private and public white-dominated institutions.

SUMMARY

As a result of the continuing aggressive and exploitative expansion of Euro-Canadian population and culture, particularly since World War II, contacts between whites and Indians have become more intense and inclusive. Correspondingly, the overt and covert acculturative pressures upon the Indian people, and their impact, have increased along with Indian resistance to them. A number of factors have contributed significantly to this, including such things as a growing Indian population, intensive resource exploitation particularly in the more remote areas, the expansion of road systems and other transportation and communication facilities, the diffusion of schools, hospitals, government economic assistance programs and so on. In southern regions, this has tended to create closer links between Indian reserves or settlements and urban areas with their different socio-economic patterns and life-styles; a situation which both Nagler[66] and Dosman[67] argue has been encouraged by government programs. In northern and isolated areas, these pressures have resulted in a tendency to abandon nomadic or semi-nomadic life-styles for community life; originally clustered around trading posts but more recently, about white-dominated centres of medical, educational and economic resources.[68]

Concurrently with the progress of these changes, many traditional items of material culture have declined in importance or have been replaced by products of Euro-Canadian technology. New articles have been incorporated into Indian life styles, often luxury items and other consumer products, a demand for which has been created and fostered by increased exposure to the larger society and rising expectations with respect to consumption. There has, at the same time, been considerable pressure for change on elements of the Indian value culture; on beliefs and institutions. Missionaries disrupted the native religions, community and urban life with their often conflicting values and demands have created strains on the family structure, and government administration policies and techniques disrupted patterns of authority and leadership.

A major consequence of the cumulative pressures for change and related conflicts, as well as continuing exploitation and subordination, has been increasing organizational and political activity among the Indian population. Through increasing education and awareness, Indians have begun to reassert themselves and seek not only a revitalized identity but also redress for past exploitation and real power in the decision-making processes that affect their lives and future. This phase of reassertion began to take effective shape in the late 1940's and early 1950's, according to Patterson.

> Indians were asserting themselves to regain as much control as possible of the decision-making processes that shaped their political, economic, and social affairs. Leaders and spokesmen emerged who could more effectively manipulate organizational techniques for protest.[69]

The programs and activities of Indian organizations at the national, regional or provincial, and local levels have, in the process, engendered considerable conflict with white dominated institutions, both public and private.

CHAPTER IV - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

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CHAPTER V

INDIANS IN CANADA: THE NORTHERN SITUATION

DETERMINING FACTORS

The Indian peoples of Canada constitute a relatively small and quite diverse sector of the total Canadian population. Because of a tendency on the part of many non-Indians to attribute a degree of uniformity which in fact does not exist to the Indian peoples and their history, the factor of diversity should be clearly noted. Among the major facets of Indian diversity are: linguistic and cultural differences; differences in the location and nature of the areas where Indians live; differences in the length of contact with non-Indians; and differences in the nature of such contact, its history and its effects on Indians and Indian-white relations. In addition, there is the major distinction between those persons who are legally regarded as Indians and those who are not. E.J. Dosman summarizes this latter distinction rather succinctly.

> According to the Indian Act, registered Indians include all persons descended in the male line from a paternal ancestor of Indian identity, who have chosen to remain under Indian legislation... Nevertheless, to the larger society, somebody who looks 'Indian' is an Indian.[1]

Because of these many differences; official, historical, or circumstantial, generalizations about the situation of Indian peoples and about Indian-white relations are extremely difficult to make. However, for the purposes of the present study, it is necessary to make a limited classification of the Canadian Indians and their relationships with the larger, non-Indian society; utilizing several of the areas of difference noted above. Such a classification is important in that it relates these variables to specific types of contact situations and the development of Indian-white relations to these situations over time.

Accordingly, the current situations of the Canadian Indian population with respect to the larger non-Indian society have been classified into four broad categories. Three main criteria have been used in formulating this classification scheme; criteria which best seem to indicate the major types of diversity in the situations of the contemporary Canadian Indian peoples.

The first criterion is the area or location of residence of Indian peoples within Canada, particularly the distance or proximity to towns or urban centres. The second refers to the relative degree of orientation of Indian peoples to either the Indian or the white cultural milieu. The third criterion focuses upon the overall configuration of Indian-white relations in a given geographical area; the extent of structural integration, the extent of prejudice or discrimination and so on.

The four categories that are developed and presented here are not completely distinct from one another, in that because of the nature of the criteria involved, there is a certain amount of overlap or continuity from one category to another. However, in spite of this limitation, each category can be utilized as a generalized and relatively inclusive description of a particular population segment or segments and a particular configuration of Indian-white relationships. In a similar vein, the boundaries between these categories are not seen as being conterminous with tribal or band boundaries, although they are often generally related to these groupings. This qualification of the classification must be made because of individual differences in Indian-white relations and in orientation to the larger non-Indian society, which would allow individual members or subgroups of any particular tribe or band to be placed in different categories. However, in most cases, the situation of the majority in a given area or the majority of a given band or tribe can be seen as falling within one of the four categories. The major purpose in presenting this classification is to distinguish, in general terms, the characteristics of the situation which is under investigation from other situations involving relationships between Indians and whites.

The classification proposed here stems from several different sources: personal observations, a classification of the economic situations of Indian bands in Canada used by Hawthorn[2], and information contained in studies conducted by Gold,[3] McFee,[4] and Nagler.[5]

The first category or type of situation which can be identified is referred to as that of the "urban Indians". This term is used to describe that growing segment of the Indian population who have left their home reserves or communities and who have established primary residences in the larger urban centres of Canada.[6] While many of the Indians who have made this transition retain some ties with their home reserves or communities, usually ties of family and kinship, this may cause serious problems for those oriented toward upward mobility in the dominant society.[7] For many such persons, the transition is motivated by desires for economic improvement, and over time and with educational advancement there may develop a shift in orientation away from tribal or reserve identity and toward the larger non-Indian society and participation, if not full integration, in it.[8]

> Once having been exposed to the city, many Indians become very dissatisfied with reserve life. They maintain that life on the reserve is usually 'much harder' and sometimes very boring.[9]

In order to participate in an effective manner in the urban milieu, many will abandon some aspects of their traditional culture in favor of the culture of the non-Indian society. Examples of this change are the adoption of deferred gratification patterns instead of the immediate gratification patterns noted among the less acculturated reserve Indians by Gold,[10] and the abandonment of the more traditional Indian cultural ideas of generosity and mutual aid as noted by McFee[11] and Nagler.[12] Dosman's study of the Indians in Saskatoon suggests that such cultural changes are closely related to the economic position that the individual achieves, or is assigned to, in the urban setting.[13] Nevertheless, these cultural transitions may often be seen as being a necessary step toward integration and mobility in the larger society.

Those Indians who fall within this general category are to be found throughout the entire socio-economic spectrum, although the heaviest concentration is at the lower end.[14] In the urban context of Indian-white relations, as it is seen here, the extent to which an individual is identified as Indian, and the degree to which this identification influences social relationships, is much more a matter of choice than in the other categories. Dosman notes that this is particularly true among the "affluent" Indians of the city of Saskatoon,[15] again suggesting the above-mentioned socio-economic factors. Nagler, in a similar vein, notes that the large urban areas and the economic institutions in them tend to involve a lesser degree of "racial" identification[16] thereby allowing greater anonymity and potentially greater mobility.

The second category or type of situation can be referred to as that of the "semi-urban Indians". Those who fall within this general category tend to live on reserves or in predominantly Indian communities which are in close proximity to large centres of non-Indian population. As a result of this geographical factor of residence and all that it entails in terms of increased contact and ready communication, most Indians in this situation will have had considerable exposure to the white cultural milieu, to urban life, and so on.

> The reserves near urban communities are usually under the social, economic, political, and psychological influence of the city, either through direct or indirect influence. Regardless of location, the reserve itself provides a form of insulation from the community at large.[17]

While many in this category may have had employment off the reserves or outside the settlements, there is a greater emphasis on an orientation toward the reserve or tribal identity, or Indian-ness, than in the first category.

The third category or type of situation may be referred to as that of the "rural Indians". This term is used to describe those persons who live on reserves or in settlements which are at some distance from urban centres but who nevertheless have considerable contact with the non-Indian society. Such contacts are normally limited to small, non-Indian communities, to the representatives of various non-Indian institutions, both governmental and private, and to the occasional visit to the urban areas. The activities of the reserve, tribal organizations or band constitute an important part of the way of life, although these activities will often be of a less traditional character than in the fourth category. Employment, whether on or off the reserve, tends to be in one of the primary industries, often on a part-time or seasonal basis.

The fourth category or type of situation may be termed that of the "isolated Indians", which although similar in some respects to characteristics of the first three, is quite distinct in important aspects of the situation. Hawthorn, with respect to the economic situation of these Indians, uses the term "semi-isolated"[18] but in the present context, "isolated" is perhaps a more appropriate term. Isolated, as the term is used here, refers not only to geographical isolation, but also to social and political isolation from the mainstream of society. In addition, Indians in this category are often relatively isolated from other Indians, both within their own geographical area and within the country as a whole. Those Indians who fall into this category live mainly in the more remote areas of Canada and have had the least and latest direct exposure to the influx of Euro-Canadians and non-Indian culture. Although, because of improved communications, true isolation in the geographic sense does not really exist any longer,[19] isolation in the broader sense used here still exists. Much of the contact with non-Indians and their culture, particularly in more recent years, has tended to occur in the context of "frontier" isolation and as a result, has often involved contact with the more modern aspects of industrial society. Despite these contacts, the Indian peoples who are in such situations would appear to have retained more of their traditional culture and way of life than have those in the other types of situation. The opportunities that exist for participation in the larger society for the "isolated Indian", especially in the occupational sphere, are extremely limited because of the above-mentioned factors of isolation, lateness of direct contact, and the nature of the contact situation itself.

In this research, attention has been focused upon a situation involving elements of the third and fourth types, at Rae and Yellowknife, the Indian people involved, and the associated Indian-white relations. In Canada, there are still many Indian people who fall into these categories. These situations are to be found in a number of locations: in areas in northern Quebec and Ontario, in parts of the interior of British Columbia, in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and in the northern sectors of the Prairie provinces.[20] Hawthorn describes the situation in these areas as follows.

> Among this large group are found the lowest levels of education and of marketable skills, the highest proportions of illiteracy and inability to communicate in English; among the most serious problems of malnutrition and disease, unemployment and dependency.[21]

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

It is in the Northwest Territories that the full implications of the term "isolated" become apparent as well as the effects of the isolation on the parties involved. There, in the Arctic and sub-Arctic, not only do the Indian peoples live in an isolated situation as identified above, but the entire population, Indian and non-Indian alike, exists in a state of relative isolation from the larger society. This factor is one which becomes increasingly important when the situation and the Indian-white relations involved are examined in historical perspective as well as currently.

Therefore, when discussing the situation in the Northwest Territories, in particular the matrix of Indian-white relations, attention must be paid to all factors which contribute to it, the non-geographic as well as the geographic factors. The Northwest Territories, like the Yukon Territory, has not yet achieved provincial status within the Canadian confederation and therefore lacks a great deal of the autonomy of decision and action that the provinces have. With respect to overall administration, governing agencies and their policies, and especially economic activity, the Federal Government through its various departments exercises a considerable degree of authority and control over the Northwest Territories. Because of this, many of the decisions of a social, political, and economic nature which have been influential in determining the course of development in the Northwest Territories, and thus influential in determining the type of situation which has evolved, have been made externally.

The effects of such controls on development have been particularly noticeable with respect to the Indian peoples, as will be shown more completely later. Although the Indian people constitute a major proportion of the population of the Northwest Territories, they have received almost no consideration in the overall processes of development, nor have they had any influence in determining the directions of such development.[22] While the Territorial council and its various departments have gained considerable autonomy in a number of areas in recent years,[23] most of the basic policy decisions which affect the North, its development and its peoples, are made in the external centres of political and corporate power.[24]

In addition to the factors involved in this two-fold isolation of the Northwest Territories and its peoples, there are a number of other factors which must be examined concurrently when discussing the situation of Indian-white relations. Consideration should be given to the historical background and development of the situation over time, to the effects of the changes introduced in the situation, and to the current drift of change in the North and potential results. Therefore, the consideration of change and the associated conflict, or potential conflict, is critical in the examination of such a situation. In this research, this is especially important because many of the changes and conflicts, or at least their causes, have been developed externally to the situation itself.

The literature provides considerable evidence of the importance of historical factors in the analysis of the current situation in the Northwest Territories and its development. The intrusion of Europeans and European culture into the area now known as the Northwest Territories came from two main directions: a westward expansion from Hudson Bay and a northward expansion from the Lake Athabaska region. In each case, the incentive was the further expansion of the fur trade and resulting profits for the concerns involved; although competition between English and French and later between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company for territorial control, and thus control of the fur trade was a major factor. Exploration of the country was a by-product of the demands for economic expansion. E.E. Rich notes the following in connection with English-French competition in particular; an argument that can be extended to the corporate competition as well. "Exploration was not the only consideration for either side. Whatever the range of argument might be, the fur trade was the motivating force."[25]

From Hudson Bay, contact was initiated from Fort Prince of Wales at the mouth of the Churchill River, primarily with the Chipewyans who also acted as trading intermediaries between the Europeans and the "Dog-ribs" and Yellowknifes of the interior. The Chipewyans utilized their position in the fur trade to establish and maintain their domination over the interior tribes, exploiting them, and often using force to prevent them from gaining direct access to the trading post.[26] Fort Prince of Wales was from the time of its founding in 1717 to 1782, the major trading post with the interior of the Northwest Territories. Morton describes the situation of the Dogribs at this time.

> At any rate, the Dogribs, who according to Jeremie frequented the mouth of the Churchill in the first decade of the eighteenth century, were found by Samuel Hearne (1771) in the secluded north, and were kept away from Fort Prince of Wales on that river by the eastern Chipewyans, who guarded most jealously the position which they had won as middlemen between the distant tribes and the fort.[27]

Despite the gradual flow of European goods to the Athapaskans of the interior, especially those of the Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake region, direct contact with whites was extremely limited until the 1780's. Travel from the west, by water and overland, was difficult and against the general Hudson's Bay Company operation plan.[28]

It was not until 1771 that the first white man, Samuel Hearne, reached Great Slave Lake, searching for supposed large deposits of raw copper.[29] His reports indicated that the Chipewyans exploitation of the middleman position in the fur trade had been effective; that the "Dog-ribbed" Indians he contacted had no iron and that they wanted to establish direct trade with the Europeans.[30] Although M. Frobisher established initial direct trading contacts with the Indians of the Great Slave Lake region in 1775[31] and although there was some sporadic trading subsequently, it was not until 1778 that the opening of the major south to north trade route was begun with the discovery of Lake Athabaska.[32] The consequences of the initial contacts with European culture are described by Rae.

> A shockwave of the fur trade had travelled beyond the limits of European settlement on the shores of Hudson Bay into their homeland in the unknown interior. Some were suddenly shifted from the stone age and others from the copper age through the

> trickling of iron tools into their hands by Indian fur traders in search of the beaver.[33]

Moving north along the waterways from Lake Athabaska, the European fur traders gradually extended their knowledge of the interior; and their trade in the fur-rich areas around Great Slave Lake. The period between 1786 and 1790 saw a succession of trading posts established in the area, gradually moving progressively inward. The most important of these were: "Slave Fort", the first on Great Slave Lake (1786-1789); the post on Lac La Martre (1790-1823); and "Old" Fort Providence on the eastern shore of North Arm of Great Slave Lake (1790-1823).[34] Subsequently a number of posts were established along the Mackenzie River allowing easier and quicker access to the fur areas as well as better transportation in both directions. In 1804, Fort Resolution was established as the major trading post on Great Slave Lake and posts were established at or near the present sites of Fort Simpson (1804), Fort Good Hope (1805), and Fort Norman (1810).[35]

Because of the rising costs of supplies involved in the support of the fur trade, several important "provisions" posts were established to provide food as well as furs. Two of these were Big Island Fort (1849) at the juncture of the Mackenzie River and Great Slave Lake, later moved to the present site of Fort Providence (1869), and Fort Rae (1852) at Rae Point on Great Slave Lake, later moved to the present site on Marion Lake in 1906.[36] The larger concentrations of Indians at these latter provision posts were in part responsible for the establishment of permanent missions there in 1858 and 1897, respectively.[37]

In spite of the developments associated with the early contacts, both direct and indirect, between whites and Indians in the region, it has been only in the last 100-120 years with the establishment of more permanent mission and trading posts that contact and exploration in the North has ceased to be predominantly temporary or seasonal. Even at this time, the great majority of the few more or less permanent non-Indian residents were traders, missionaries, and a few prospectors. From the small number of non-Indians in the region in the early 1800's, this population had increased to an estimated 519 in 1911.[38]

Indeed, the beginnings of major penetration of modern, industrial, non-Indian society and culture into the North, the subsequent diversification of the nature of Indian-white contacts, and the more important pressures for change did not really occur until the 1920's and 1930's. The major factors involved in these developments were: the discovery of oil at Norman Wells in 1920 although this was not utilized until the development of silver and uranium finds at Great Bear Lake created a need for it in 1930; and the discovery of sizeable gold deposits around the North Arm of Great Slave Lake in 1934 and 1935.[39]

Until the early 1900's, the area of Canada now known as the Northwest Territories was rather generally considered to be a large, remote and barren tract of land, of little real or potential value beyond the fur trade.

> The lands left over from the creation of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the extension of the other provinces to their present boundaries were

> 'remnants' in every sense of the word. They were lands of patently inferior quality from the standpoint of economic potential. While Canadians had no intention... of discarding them or of letting some other country use them, they were set aside, presumably in the hope that they would be useful in the future if not in the present.[40]

Seen as such, with little potential value for development, exploitation or settlement, the North attracted relatively minor attention from either government or corporate interests. The sole product of value at that time was the fur which filtered out of the North through the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company and those of a few independent traders. Living in the North was, for most whites, lonely and arduous; farming was generally difficult, and at that time there was almost no realization of the vast subsurface mineral wealth that existed. Although a few whites, missionaries, traders and prospectors, had ventured into the area and had remained there, large-scale settlement and development of the North was scarcely considered.

Accordingly, scant attention was paid to the native peoples living in the area and the growing problems that they were experiencing as a result of their continuing contacts with even these few representatives of the larger white society. Living as they did in a close and accommodative relationship with their environment, changes that on the surface appeared to be relatively minor, could and did have considerable effect on them and on their way of life. Both the missionaries and the traders were in a number of ways the causal agents in many of these changes. The missionaries went to the North seeking converts to their various denominations and provided educational facilities of a sort, along with religious instruction, in a number of locations. The missionaries also performed a variety of roles in the area of general social welfare that were later to become the responsibility of government agencies.[41] The educational and religious activities of the missionaries did, however, aid in the disruption of the traditional way of life of the Indian peoples. The traders who went to the North seeking the then plentiful furs, contributed directly to the process of cultural disruption by introducing the Indian people to a system of debt economy as well as creating a variety of new needs for non-Indian goods. By way of example, several authors have pointed to the increase in violent inter-tribal warfare associated with the introduction of firearms and competition for favourable position in the fur trade.[42] The Federal Government, through its preoccupation with development in southern Canada and its inattention to the North as a whole, especially to the Indian peoples there, further enhanced the problems that the slow but steady influx of non-Indians were creating.[43] Prior to the early 1900's, almost the only attention paid to the North by a government agency was the occasional patrol of the Northwest Mounted Police; the first such patrol to reach the Great Slave Lake area being in 1897.[44]

By the early 1900's, some of the vast mineral resource potential of the North had been glimpsed by a few individuals and some exploration of possibilities in this direction was taking place.

> The minerals of the Mackenzie basin, although

> by al (sic) indications, sufficiently varied and widespread as to warrant the belief that they will receive more attention, exist in such indeterminate quantities as to have no bearing at the present time on the scheme of conservation.
>
> The oil and gas wells of the Athabasca River, copper deposits in the valley of the Coppermine River, coal reefs at Fort Norman, sulphur near Great Slave Lake, gold around the shores of Athabasca Lake and salt in the vicinity of Fort Smith, only serve to show the variety and distribution of minerals, and would indicate that the country offers great possibilities.[45]

However, even at this date, the major economic orientation of widespread impact was still the fur trade and the seemingly inexhaustible supply of fur-bearing animals in the North. This fur was relatively abundant, highly desired and easily obtainable through the exploitation of the Indian population already living there.

In some ways, the economic and interpersonal situation in the North could have been compared to a colonial plantation economy. That is to say, each situation can be seen as being based upon the exploitation of people defined as culturally and/or racially different in order to obtain the maximum economic benefits from natural surface resources. However, unlike the plantation system, the fur resource supply could not be predictably regenerated, thus disrupting the cycle of supply and demand. Thus the many Indian people who had become incorporated at the lowest levels into a new economic system, at the expense of much of their traditional way of life, would become the victims of the decline of that economic base.

> The destruction of fur bearing animals in connection with the export of raw furs from this country, has up to the present time had no serious effect on the quantity and species of animal still

> to be found. Although with the advent of the white trapper and the employment of up-to-date methods of trapping it is becoming increasingly evident that the day is not far distant when it will become necessary to enact close seasons for certain varieties of game... Other varieties of fur bearing animals such as otter and beaver are not nearly so plentiful as hither-to-fore.[46]

The disruption of traditional Indian ways of life by the economic colonialism of the fur trade and the changes it introduced had its counterpart in the embryo school system being introduced into the North by the missionaries. The following quotations reflect the general attitudes toward the Indians as well as the gross inadequacies of the education they were receiving.

> The product turned out of the Indian schools referred to is rather at a loss to know which sphere in life he is best fitted for.
>
> The boy usually leaves the school at the age of fifteen, and beyond being able to do chores and possessing a smattering knowledge of the three 'R's he is ignorant.
>
> He has had no opportunity to develop his natural instinct for hunting and trapping, by which he would be more easily able to earn his livelihood, and the result is he is to all intent and purpose a 'loafer' and apt to become a burden on the State.[47]
>
> As a general rule, therefore, the present training of the Indian boy in the Mission school has a tendency to impair the usefulness of the Indian as a trapper and hunter, and unless the curriculum is altered or the age limit changed so that the boy will have an opportunity of receiving woodcraft training during the receptive age, destitution will be as widespread and serious as ever.[48]

Around the turn of the century, a few persons, mainly missionaries, had been urging the Federal Government to take some interest in the steadily worsening situation of many of the northern

Indians. This was of little use, however, because of the rapid development that was occurring in the south and the then prevailing view of the North as a virtual wasteland. Despite pressures from a number of sources,[49] the Federal Government in the early 1900's had not entered into treaty with the northern Indian peoples, although most of the other Indian peoples of Canada were included in one treaty or another. By the late teens and early twenties, as evidenced by the preparations for making a treaty with the northern Indians, the attitude of the Federal Government toward the North was changing. These steps were however not motivated so much by a sense of responsibility toward the Indians and their deteriorating state as by the growing indications of the real resource potential and the possibilities for economic expansion and exploitation. Thus the eventual entry of the Federal Government into direct contact with the northern Indians represented only an extension of the colonial and exploitative relationships already existing.

In this connection then, the negotiation of a treaty with the northern Indian peoples, in which the rich northern land would be "legally" ceded to the Crown, became for the Federal Government a matter of urgent necessity rather than an economic liability as it had previously been viewed. Accordingly, during 1921 and 1922, treaty "negotiations" were carried out between representatives of the Crown and the Indian peoples and Treaty Number Eleven was formally signed. This treaty, the circumstances surrounding the "negotiations" and the signing, and interpretation and misinterpretation of the agreements in it, have been the source of continuing conflict between Indians in the North and the Federal Government. These factors, and the treaty in general, will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter.

It is against this historical background that the modern development of the Canadian North has taken place. Two of the major population centres, Yellowknife and Hay River, may be seen as being directly related to the themes of modern development. Yellowknife, originating during the gold boom of the late 1930's, continued to expand to its present position of Territorial capital and administrative and communications centre for the North. Hay River, differing from Yellowknife in that it was originally a trading post and later a mission centre, experienced considerable growth as a terminus of both the Mackenzie Valley water transportation route and the railway from the south. The functions of Yellowknife as a regional submetropolis of economic and administrative power will be discussed later.

In addition, these historical circumstances have contributed in great measure to the development of the current situation of Indian-white relations in the North. During the early years of northern development, the in-coming whites learned the techniques of travel, survival, etc., from the Indians. With the decline of the importance of the fur trade and the growth of modern mineral exploration and development, the Indians and their skills became almost totally dispensable. At the same time as modern technology reduced the utility of traditional Indian skills, the imported education system was quite inadequate in enabling younger Indian people to enter the rapidly encroaching modern world. At the same time, the education system really failed to consider the Indian culture as important, indeed, the goal of the system seemed to be the destruction of that culture.

The result of the interplay of these factors was that the Indian peoples of the Northwest Territories were under considerable pressure to continue changing aspects of their culture and way of life, without having adequate opportunity to participate in the decision-making and processes of modernization and development that were occurring around them in the North; even if they were desirous of so participating. In examining the mining industry for example, K.J. Rea notes that:

> ...it should be understood that most of the industrial labour force in the north normally consisted of more or less itinerant workers of European stock rather than of local natives. As noted elsewhere the many reasons for this would have included the cultural characteristics of the people, the lack of education and training facilities in the north, the preferences and, perhaps the prejudices of white employers there, and the pervasive influences of the clerical, police, and fur-trading 'authorities' all of whom sought to insulate the native population against the supposedly corrupting effects of modern industrial employment.[50]

Rea would appear to be somewhat generous toward the various "authorities" who by and large could be considered to have been as selfishly motivated as the white "employers".

A situation has therefore developed in the North in which there has been considerable importation of white workers and administrative personnel and a concommitant underemployment and "irrelevance" of local Indians. While this situation is in large measure due to the factors mentioned above, it may also in part be due to the attempts of the Indian peoples to maintain some significant elements of their culture and way of life despite the mounting pressures for change. The last influential factor in the development of the current situation in the North, although by no means the least important, involves the misconceptions, negative attitudes and prejudices, and racial and cultural stereotypes that have been a part of the Indian-white relations. These negative attitudinal factors that so many whites have brought to the North, and which are so commonly seen in other parts of the country, serve to further reinforce the isolation of the Indians from the larger society.

CONFLICT AND MARGINALITY: THE FOCUS OF RESEARCH

The cumulative effect of all of the above-mentioned factors connected with the white intrusion and development in the Northwest Territories has been the gradual emergence of a distinctive type of social situation - particularly as it has concerned the Indian peoples and their relations with the non-Indian society. It is a situation involving pronounced differences between Indians and whites in social, economic, occupational, educational and political activities and institutions. It also is a situation which is strongly influenced by geographical factors such as difficult terrain, relative isolation, and associated transportation and communication problems. In almost all of the areas which have been a part of the matrix of contacts between Indians and whites, the Indians have been the dominated and exploited group, with resulting negative implications. Only recently have the Indian peoples begun to exert pressures on the non-Indian society in an attempt to alleviate some of these negative consequences. By and large, however, the major proportion of the Indian population has been effectively excluded from real participation in the larger society, from the rewards of the larger society, and from effectively determining their own future.

On the whole, the Indian peoples in the Northwest Territories have not received an equitable or proportionate share of the material and social benefits which have resulted from the extensive northern development. The processes which have resulted in these conditions, the overall situation, and the particulars of Indian-white relations, have affected not only those who have desired or attempted to participate in the larger society, but have also affected those who have wished to remain outside, maintaining a more traditional culture and way of life. This doubly negative effect has emerged because of steadily increasing white encroachment and domination and the increasing pressures for change which have left many Indians with diminishing real and viable life alternatives. Yellowknife and Fort Rae were selected for this research because they appeared to reflect in their interpersonal and intergroup relationships many of these aspects of the overall situation.

As can be seen, this research is involved with a complex and multi-faceted situation with respect to both institutional and interpersonal relationships. Historical factors, social, political and economic factors, as well as physical factors are all a part of the situation. While each of these is a part of, and has contributed to, the current situation of Indian-white relations in the area under investigation, they cannot be examined independently of one another. To attempt unidirectional investigation of this nature would be to neglect the importance of the interrelationships among these factors, an understanding of which is of particular relevance to the understanding of the situation as a whole. In this study, however, considerable emphasis has been placed on the two-fold nature of the isolation, and on the related aspect of external pressures and controls which directly affect the interpersonal and institutional relations in the situation. All of the above-mentioned factors contribute to the complexity of the northern situation, to the problems of Indian-white relations in that situation, and in some ways, to the uniqueness of the situation.

Although all of the above factors have been examined, it should be recognized that much of the research is essentially exploratory in nature. It should be so considered because of the increasing speed and intensity of change that is occurring in northern Canada, particularly in the areas of economic development and the associated influx of elements of modern industrial technology and Euro-Canadian culture. These continuing processes of change and development have serious effects on the Indians of the North, on Indian-white relations, and on the situation as a whole, thereby precluding absolutely definitive statements. Given this qualification, the major goal of the research is the investigation of the situation of Indian-white relations, in as wide a scope as possible, in two communities of the Northwest Territories; Yellowknife and Fort Rae.

In accordance with this general objective, the research focuses upon three main areas of critical concern to the current situation and the associated problems and conflicts. First; there is consideration of the effects of the historical evolution of Indian-white relations in the area on the present situation. Second; the research examined various aspects of the structural dynamics of the situation, both intergroup and interpersonal. Of particular importance in this connection are the different institutional structures which have been involved in the development of the situation and the relationships between them. Third; there is an attempt to examine a number of significant changes and innovations which have had an effect on the Indian-white relations and the effect that these have had on the overall situation as well as on each group, particularly the Indians. The impact of the Federal Government's white paper on Indian policy, the increasing awareness of the Indians of their situation as a result of better communications with the south, and the formation of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories are examples of such changes and innovations. Each of these three areas of concern is intimately connected with the others and therefore an attempt is made to present as complete and integrated a picture and analysis as possible.

In the light of all of the preceeding, a number of general research questions have been posed and examined.

First: how best can the situation in the area under investigation be characterized? Is it a marginal situation or not? What particular circumstances contributed to its development and what are its characteristics?

Second: to what extent can the Indian people in the area under examination be considered as marginal or should they and the situation generally be considered in a different perspective?

Third: what are the structural dynamics of the situation and how have they been affected by the various aspects of Indian-white relations; and vice versa? In other words, to what extent is the concept of marginality useful in examining, characterizing, and understanding the situation?

Fourth: how have the continuing processes of change affected the situation and Indian-white relations and what, if any, have been the reciprocal effects?

Fifth: how does the situation of Indian-white relations in the North compare to similar intergroup situations elsewhere?

CHAPTER V - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Dosman, E.J., op. cit., p. 11.

2 Op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 36.

3 Gold, D., op. cit.

4 McFee, M., *Modern Blackfeet: Contrasting Patterns of Differential Acculturation*, PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1962.

5 Nagler, M., op. cit.

6 Figures cited by M. Nagler show an increase of over 50 percent in the Canadian Indian urban population between 1951 and 1961.

Nagler, M., op. cit., pp. 7-8.

7 Nagler, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

8 Ibid., p. 17-25.

9 Ibid., p. 15.

10 Gold, D., op. cit., p. 43.

11 McFee, M., op. cit., pp. 152-168.

12 Nagler, M., op. cit., pp. 20-21.

13 Dosman, E.J., op. cit., pp. 47-115.

14 Nagler, M., op. cit., pp. 31-35.

15 Dosman, E.J., op. cit., pp. 64-66.

16 Nagler, M., op. cit., p. 14.

17 Ibid., p. 29

18 Hawthorn, op. cit., p. 169.

19 A good description of the penetrations into these isolated areas and communities, as well as some of the consequences, is found in:

Davis, A.K., *Edging into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan*: Vol. II of *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, A.K. Davis (ed.), Calgary, 1965, pp. 521-522.

20 Hawthorn uses virtually these same locations when referring to his classification of economically "semi-isolated" Indians.

Hawthorn, H., op. cit., p. 169.

21 Ibid., p. 169.

22 This has in part been due to the relative isolation of many of the Indian bands from the centres of development and in part to a desire to maintain traditional ways of life apart from the modern world that was gradually impinging on them. This is gradually changing as educational facilities are enlarged and better utilized and as Indian organizations become better organized and knowledgeable in their dealings with the different levels of government.

23 For an excellent discussion of this point on the gradual evolution of territorial government and responsibility, see:

Rea, K.J., The Political Economy of the Canadian North - An Interpretation of the Course of Development in the Northern Territories of Canada to the Early 1960's, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968, pp. 34-43.

24 Ibid., pp. 45-63, et passim.

Apart from the still partially appointed Territorial council, this external control is further demonstrated by the fact that almost all, if not all, of the companies conducting exploration or actual resource exploitation in the north have their centres of decision-making in the south, either in Canada or the United States.

25 Rich, E.E., The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1967, p. 65.

26 Rae, G.R., Settlement of the Great Slave Lake Frontier, Northwest Territories, Canada, from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963, pp. 45-50.

Innis, H.A., op. cit., p. 149.

27 Morton, A.S., A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871, (2nd ed.), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973, p. 12.

28 Rich, E.E., op. cit., p. 47.

29 Rae, G.R., op. cit., p. 58-59.

30 Ibid., p. 61.

31 Ibid., pp. 70-71.

32 Ibid., p. 74.

33 Ibid., p. 76.

34 Ibid., pp. 79-107.

35 Ibid., pp. 119-133.

36 Ibid., pp. 162-191.

37 Ibid., p. 171, and p. 192.

38 Zaslow, M., *The Opening of the Canadian North; 1870-1914*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1971, p. 238.

39 Rea, K.S., op. cit., pp. 154-156, and Rae, G.R., op. cit., pp. 220-222.

40 Rea, K.S., op. cit., p. 56.

41 Zaslow, M., op. cit., pp. 70-74.

42 Rae, G.R., op. cit., pp. 41-41, and p. 182.

Rich, E.E., op. cit., p. 103.

Indian Affairs Branch, *Indians of Yukon and Northwest Territories*, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 8.

43 In a number of places H. Cardinal points to these disrupting effects of the missionaries and the neglect of the federal government, especially with respect to education.

Cardinal, H., op. cit., pp. 52-53, and pp. 82-89.

44 Rae, G.R., op. cit., p. 159.

45 This passage is taken from a report dated November 7, 1913, entitled: Report on the Territory Covered by Treaty No. 8, and the District North of Fort Simpson Along the Valley of the Mackenzie R., (sic), p. 9 of section B of the report, Interior.

46 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

47 Ibid., Section A - Indian Affairs, p. 5.

48 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

49 Bishop G. Breynat, O.M.I., was one of the most persistent proponents of a treaty with the northern Indians; writing

numerous letters to government officials urging this step on primarily humanitarian grounds.

50 Rea, K.J., op. cit., p. 185.

CHAPTER VI

INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS:
THE YELLOWKNIFE - FORT RAE SITUATION

THE RESEARCH SITES

The field research for this study was conducted in two communities in the Northwest Territories; Yellowknife and Fort Rae, (also known and referred to as Rae). A brief observational overview of each community is presented below.

Yellowknife

The town of Yellowknife, which is situated on the rocky northern shore of Great Slave Lake, became the capital of the Northwest Territories in 1967. By road, Yellowknife is almost a thousand miles north of Edmonton, Alberta, (seven hundred miles as the crow flies), and approximately four hundred miles south of Coppermine on the Arctic Coast. (See diagram 1)

Yellowknife is itself divided into two quite well defined areas; the 'Old Town', including Latham Island, and the 'New Town', separated from each other by a long hill which slopes gradually up from the lake and from the 'Old Town' to the 'New Town'. (See diagram 2) It is in the Old Town that the vestiges of the former nature of the community are still visible, the remnants of the wide-open mining and prospecting centre. For practical purposes, several of the services and businesses of Yellowknife are still located in the Old Town, but most of the commercial, recreational and administrative activities are now centered 'up the hill' in New Town.

DIAGRAM I

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

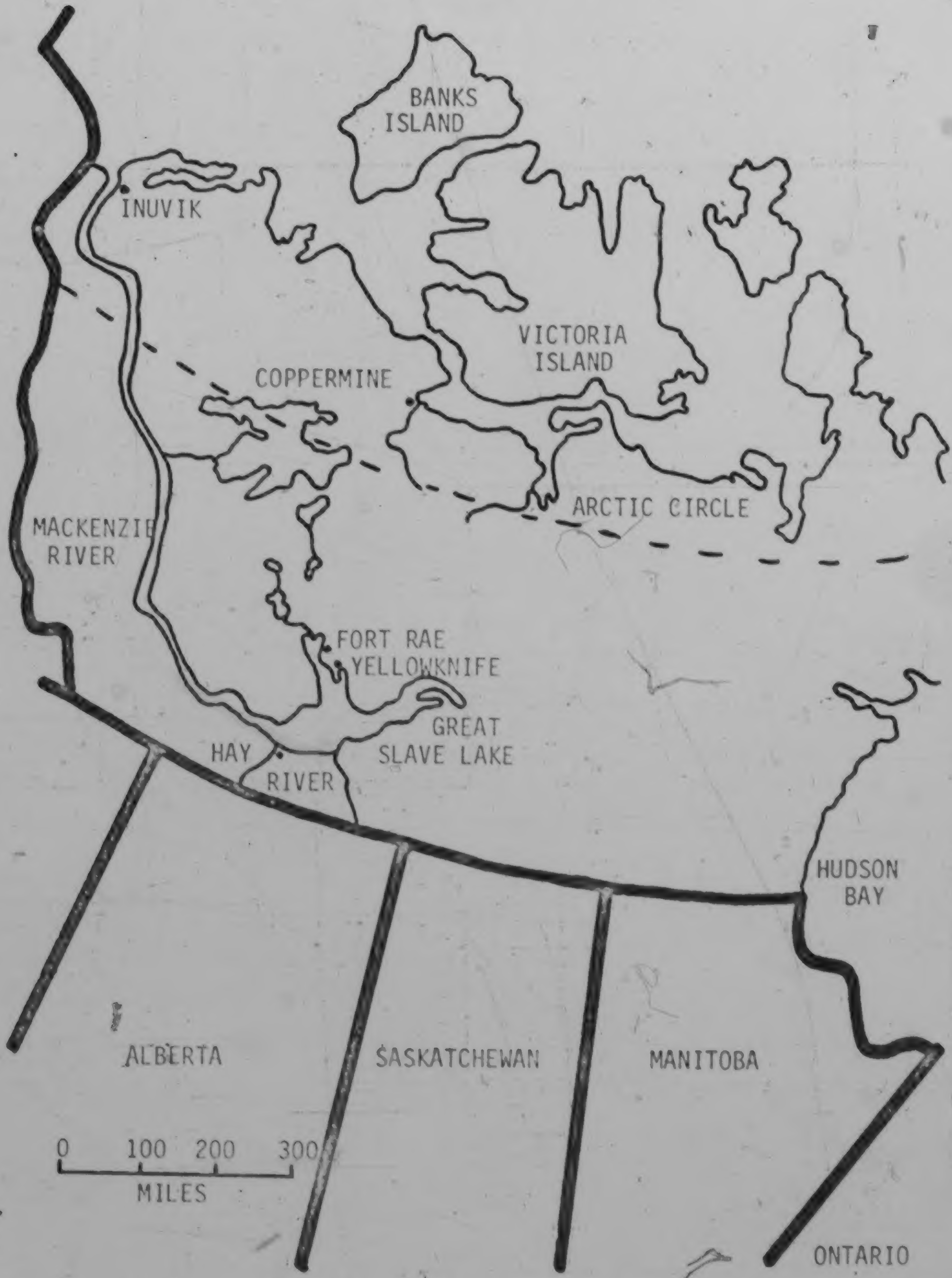
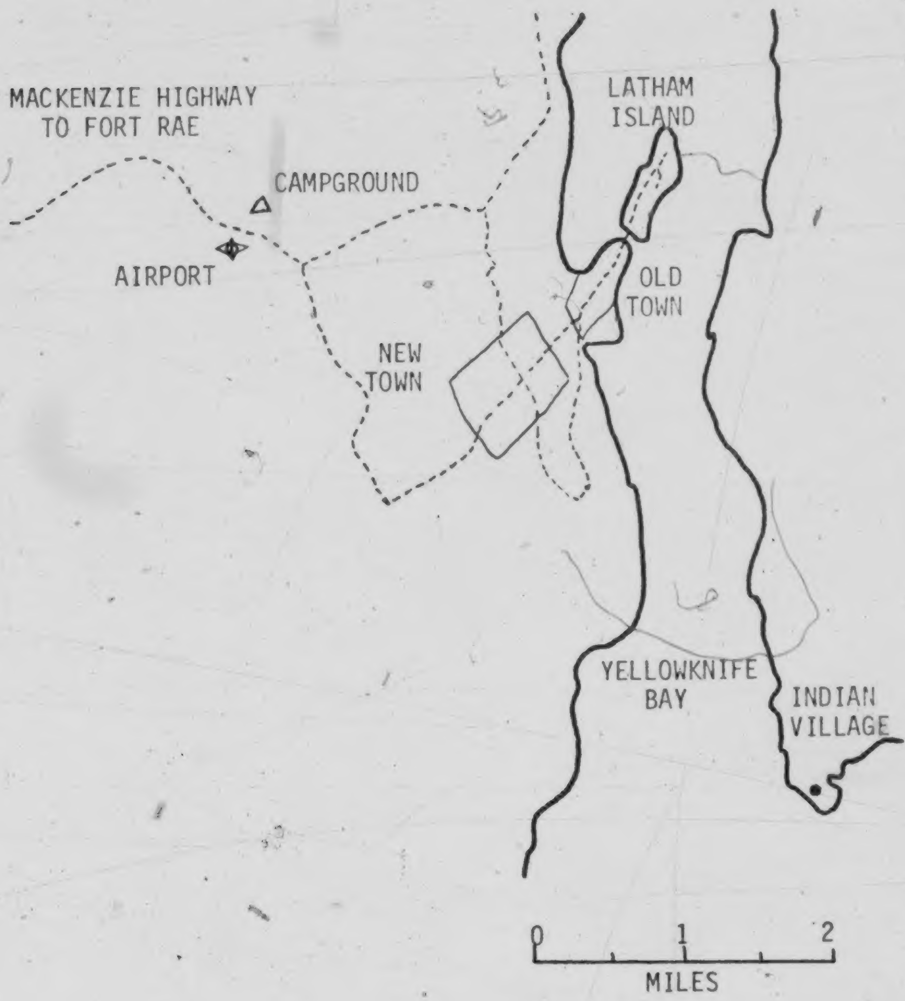

BANKS ISLAND
INUVIK
VICTORIA ISLAND
COPPERMINE
ARCTIC CIRCLE
MACKENZIE RIVER
FORT RAE
YELLOWKNIFE
GREAT SLAVE LAKE
HAY RIVER
HUDSON BAY
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
0
100
200
300
MILES

DIAGRAM II

YELLOWKNIFE AND VICINITY


MACKENZIE HIGHWAY
TO FORT RAE
CAMPGROUND
AIRPORT
LATHAM
ISLAND
OLD
TOWN
NEW
TOWN
YELLOWKNIFE
BAY
INDIAN
VILLAGE
0
1
2
MILES

A great deal of the New Town is very new indeed, a result of the spectacular building and commercial expansion that occurred following the transfer of the Territorial Government offices and personnel from Ottawa and Fort Smith to Yellowknife. The Old Town, apart from some commercial expansion, has scarcely benefited from these changes, although residential expansion is occurring on the hill.

At the time this research was conducted, the total population of Yellowknife was approximately four thousand people, of whom probably less than ten percent were of Indian descent.[1] The majority of this Indian population are Dogrib but there are some Chippewyan and Slave people as well. Most of the Indian population resides in the Old Town, mainly on the section known as Latham Island. Latham Island, or the "Island" as it is often called, is connected to the mainland by a short causeway. Although a number of non-Indians have built homes on the Island to take advantage of the scenery, the greater proportion of homes, at the time of the research, were either government-built Indian housing of one style or another, or other small houses and log cabins occupied by Indians.

In the area of housing and related facilities, the most striking differences may be noted between the Old Town and the New Town. The large new houses, neat rows of town houses and a high rise apartment building, the neat lawns and fences, and the good streets in New Town contrast sharply with the conditions generally prevalent in the Old Town, especially Latham Island. With a few exceptions, there is a marked disparity between the overt appearance of affluence in the New Town and the poverty of Old Town, particularly the Indian section.

In the New Town, most homes are equipped with modern facilities; running water, sewers, etc., while these amenities are almost non-existent in the Old Town and the Island. There water is carried in buckets from communal faucets during the summer months and delivered by tank truck during the winter. Sewage facilities, in the Indian homes at least, are the so-called "honey buckets", emptied regularly by hand.[2] Having lived with an Indian family on Latham Island, the researcher and his wife became quite familiar with these facilities, or rather lack of them, and the degree to which they fall short of standards of health and sanitation normally accepted in the New Town.

Almost all of the entertainment facilities, stores, and services of Yellowknife are located in the New Town. The entertainment resources, at the time of the research, included four restaurants, one movie theatre, three bars, an arena, a swimming pool, and a variety of other minor recreational areas. The shopping facilities include two large food stores, one large and several smaller department stores, two hardware stores and a large number of smaller specialty stores. The offices of the utility companies, the town hall, the Territorial Government offices, the medical clinic, the hospital, etc., are all located in the New Town. There is one general store in the Old Town but it does not have the selection of goods available in the New Town and its prices are somewhat higher.

Thus, with this one exception, if anyone living in the Old Town wishes to shop or utilize any of the facilities available in Yellowknife, he must first make his way up the long hill to the New Town. Transportation between the two areas of Yellowknife is relatively expensive if the available taxi services are used; the bus service is slow and often intermittent, and the walk is long and tiring, especially for older people. While the use of the facilities in the New Town is not openly discouraged, those living in the Old Town, particularly the Indian population without the financial resources of the non-Indians, find it to be a difficult and often expensive enterprise.

The charter airplane companies, a major industry in the community, are situated in the Old Town on the shore of the lake. This is a matter of necessity for the float plane operations and offers little beyond casual employment to the Indians living in that area. While the general level of wages in Yellowknife is higher than that of similar areas in the south, the higher prices of goods and services, inflated by the extra transportation necessary, more than compensates for this. For the Indian population of Yellowknife, most of whom are only sporadically employed in a wage earning job, the higher prices impose considerable difficulties.

Over the years, Yellowknife has experienced a number of booms and a number of slumps in the basic industry of the town, gold mining. At present there are two active gold mines in the vicinity but these are still vulnerable to fluctuations in the international market. The most stable and consistent industry of

Yellowknife has been that of communications. The town has long been a major redistribution centre for men and materials destined for the more remote areas of the Northwest Territories and the high Arctic. With the rapidly increasing exploration and exploitation activity in the North, this industry is becoming increasingly important.

The newest and probably the most important industry in Yellowknife at the present is government. The influx of government personnel and the accompanying financial benefits would appear to have assured the town of continued existence as the major centre of the North. Thus the town should, in the opinion of many residents, be able to survive a slump in the mining industry which in the past would have crippled it.

Fort Rae

Fort Rae, or Rae, is a fairly large community by standards in the Northwest Territories, having an estimated population of eight hundred people at the time this research was conducted.[3] Of this number, only about sixty are white. The Indian people who live at Fort Rae are almost without exception "treaty" Dogribs and constitute the major portion of the tribe. There are two other smaller Dogrib settlements, Rae Lake and Lac La Martre, with a combined population of about one hundred and eighty people. Both of these settlements are some distance from Rae and are accessible only by boat or float aircraft in the summer, although surface travel is possible after the freeze-up. Nevertheless, there is fairly frequent visiting between these two settlements and Rae.

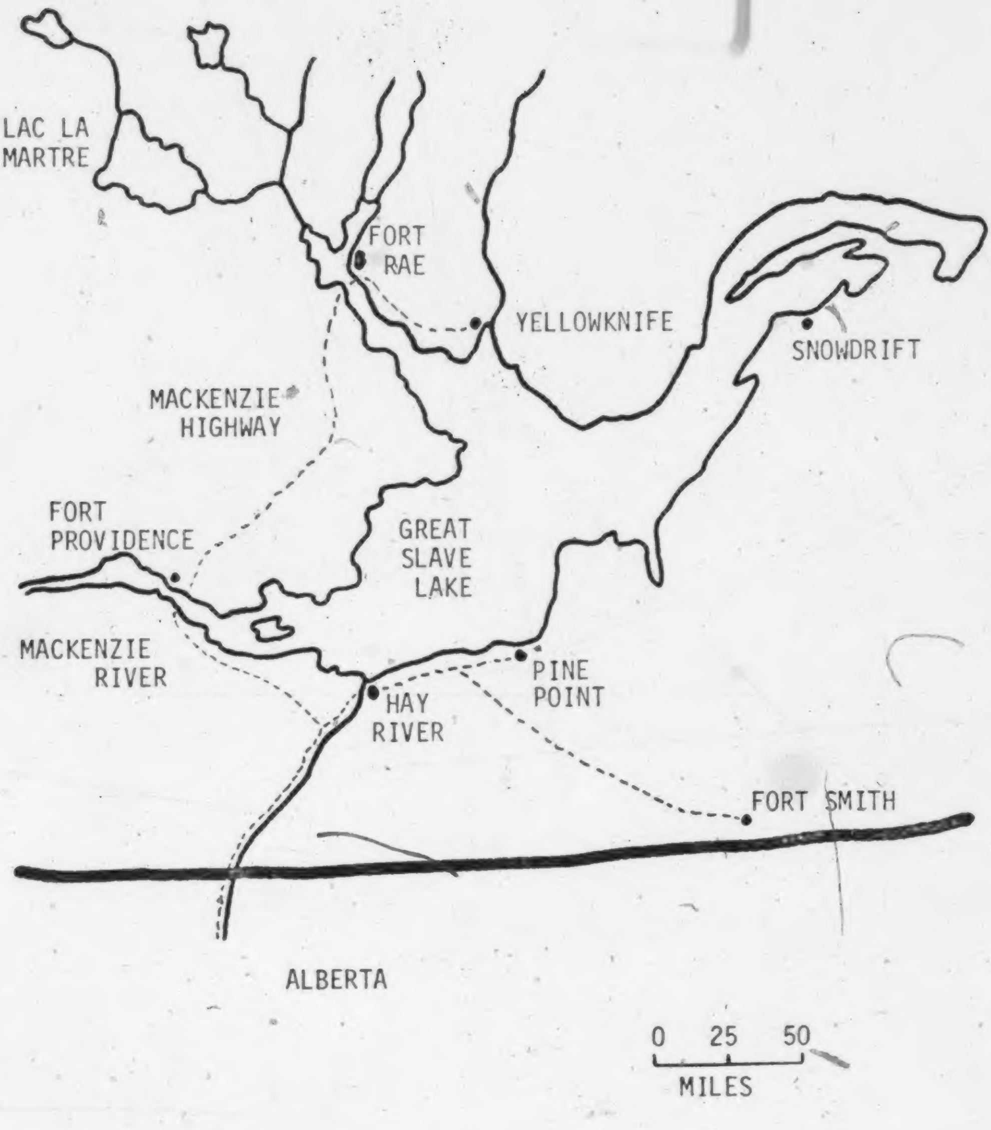
Fort Rae is situated on Marion Lake at the western end of

Great Slave Lake and is seventy miles by road from the Territorial capital of Yellowknife. Sixty-three miles of this distance are along the gravel of the Mackenzie highway and the remaining seven are over a very rough, relatively new, one-lane dirt road. (See diagram 3) Thus while Rae is in many ways isolated from the outside world, its land communication links make it much less isolated than some other northern Indian settlements. Contact and travel are quite frequent between Rae and Yellowknife, in part through the use of the thrice-weekly bus service, but more commonly involving the use of private automobiles. Many of the residents of Rae have friends or relatives living in Yellowknife and, apart from shopping, visiting is the chief reason for going "into town". Those persons who have vehicles almost always have a full load of friends and relatives whenever they go to Yellowknife.

The Indians of the Northwest Territories have long differed in one significant respect from Indians in the "south" in that none live on reserves. Although Treaty Number Eleven, the treaty which covers most of the Northwest Territories, makes provision for reservation land[4] such land has not yet been granted by the Federal Government or taken by the Indian bands involved. Therefore, Rae, like the other Indian settlements in the Northwest Territories is technically situated on crown land. At the time the research was conducted, Rae was in a difficult situation, being neither an incorporated village, and as such having access to development funds from the Territorial Government, nor a reserve and thereby eligible for funds from the Federal Government.

DIAGRAM III

YELLOWKNIFE - FORT RAE AREA


LAC LA MARTRE
FORT RAE
YELLOWKNIFE
SNOWDRIFT
MACKENZIE HIGHWAY
FORT PROVIDENCE
GREAT SLAVE LAKE
MACKENZIE RIVER
PINE POINT
HAY RIVER
FORT SMITH
ALBERTA
0 25 50
MILES

The non-Indian residents of Rae are employed in a number of different occupations, but all except a few are in effect the representatives in Rae of larger, externally controlled organizations in both the private and public sectors. They include the priests and nuns who run the Roman Catholic mission and hospital in Rae, the teachers at the small local elementary school, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, a doctor, the manager of the Hudson's Bay store, a variety of other government functionaries and their spouses, and two individuals who can best be described as entrepreneurs. One of the latter runs a trucking operation and the other not only manages the post office but operates the second store in the community as an independent trader.

There is no industry in the vicinity of Rae which could provide opportunities for employment, although there is some limited potential for future development.[5] The Indians who have regular or semi-regular employment are for the most part employed by one of the government agencies, by the hospital, or by one of the stores or entrepreneurs. A number of the local women are also able to earn some money, through the Rae co-operative, producing and selling a variety of handicrafts to the tourists who occasionally come to the community during the summer months.

Many families also receive a cash income from trapping or through employment at the various fishing lodges in the Northwest Territories during the tourist season. Other family income comes from a variety of sources including social assistance, family allowance, and old age pensions. Many families in Rae still depend on fish and caribou for basic food requirements, although, for a number of reasons, both whitefish and caribou are becoming scarce in the area around the town.[6]

The community of Rae is built for the most part on or around the massive rock outcroppings which predominate in the area, with most of the older houses being quite close to the shore of the lake. Newer, government-built houses are generally further inland although, if possible, they too have been situated on the shoreline. This placement of the homes in Rae reflects the reliance of the people of the town on the water, traditionally and currently, for food and as a means of transportation. The shoreline is dotted with dozens of large canoes and other boats, some of which are almost continually in use during the summer months. The numerous teams of sled dogs staked or penned throughout the community give emphasis to the style of life and reflect a major means of transportation during the winter. Depending on where one stands in Rae, the "skyline" is dominated by either the mission church and hospital or by the Hudson's Bay post; each rather symbolic of major relationships within the community.

The differences between the homes of the non-Indian population of Rae and the homes of the Indians is at once noticeable and striking. The majority of the former are located in a small cluster along an attractive stretch of the shoreline, some distance from the rest of the community. Most are large and modern when compared to the Indian houses, having running water and some form of indoor sanitation. The various government employees, the

Hudson's Bay factor and others working for external agencies, have their houses provided for them, either free or at subsidized rates.

The houses of the Indians, on the other hand, demonstrate the marked differences in wealth and life style which exists in the community. About half of them are small, old, log cabins which are set directly on the rock outcroppings, a style of construction that maximizes warmth in winter by eliminating drafts under the floor. While this type of house is found throughout the community, most are situated close to the water in the older residence pattern. The remaining Indian houses are the so-called "government houses", built under the auspices of the Indian Affairs Branch in a number of different styles; styles which can be used to determine the time at which each house, or group of houses, was built. While the log cabins conform to the terrain, these government houses are raised off the ground, allowing them to be built in neat rows, but making them much harder to heat during the winter. A few Indian families live in tents, during the summer months or during a waiting period while more permanent housing is being sought. The sanitary facilities in the Indian homes in Rae are much the same as in Yellowknife, "honey buckets", and water is obtained either by truck delivery or from the lake.

The community hall is, apart from the stores, the focal point of organized band life. It too is built to government specifications and its twins can be seen on many reserves throughout Canada. It is used for formal community functions, band meetings, dances, movies and general recreation. The only other recreational area in the community is a baseball field in somewhat dubious repair.

While formal government authority functions at Rae in the form of the R.C.M.P. and the representatives of various agencies, the band is governed by an elected chief and band council. Difficulties sometimes arise when band policy as set by the chief and band council run counter to the desires or edicts of the external authorities.

Discussion

> Three major forces are at work in the modern Canadian North transforming the region and its people. The first is geo-political, the second is economic and the third is cultural transformation of native peoples.[7]

Yellowknife and Fort Rae in many ways represent two major types of community development found in the North and the directions of past and current change. Each, in different ways demonstrates the increasing pervasiveness of power and influence exercised directly or indirectly by the white population in the North. As noted earlier, Fort Rae was a creation of the fur trade, supplying provisions and furs to the trading companies. Until the late 1940's there was little permanent Indian settlement; rather periodic gatherings at Treaty time and for the purposes of trading accumulated furs.[8] At the conclusion of these occasions, most of the Dogrib people returned to the "bush".

However, with declining fur prices, rising costs, and the increasing availability of various government-provided services, the permanent settlement at Rae grew rapidly during the 1950's and 1960's. Dunning,[9] Helm and Damas,[10] and Oswalt and Vanstone[11] among others point to the influence of government "subsidization" on settlement patterns. Dunning also argues that in the case of the isolated Indian community this process of economic subsidization may have positive consequences.

> The bolstered economy of subsidies allows some selective acceptance of external norms, particularly economic development but without the necessity of losing completely the indigenous social norms.[12]

Rae, with rapidly diminishing isolation and greater exposure to the white society as a result, is certainly caught between the "independent and self-sufficient" bush life and "the physical convenience, the economic and educational opportunities of the white-centred community".[13] Although the various government subsidization programs may have the effects mentioned, and in Rae there is clearly a retention of fairly strong traditional norms, they also clearly indicate the real bases of economic power in the North. Communities like Rae are thus largely white-dominated by the administrators and representatives of the government, and the role of the chief and band council in the decision-making processes is open to question. As Usher notes: "The source of power, money and authority in the North today lies not with the fur trade but with government services and administration".[14]

In Fort Rae, the community and the people, are clearly caught between the older way of life and Indian-white relationships of the fur trade era and the rapidly encroaching modern industrial society. While there have been aspects of life in which the community has yielded to the pressures for change, there is still resistance to the newer white cultural and power-based intrusions on the part of many people.

Yellowknife, at the other extreme, is a product of the modern industrial society and symbolizes the processes of exploitative economic development and subsequent overwhelming white control in most areas of life. Although the Territorial capital, and in the perception of most Indians in the area the symbolic centre of white power and control, Yellowknife should also be seen in the role of a subordinate metropolis to the ultimate external power centres.[15]

The differences in life style, economics, and power that are visible between Indians and whites in Rae, become much clearer and more noticeable in Yellowknife. Whereas Rae is an Indian community first and foremost, although with a small powerful white population, Yellowknife is a white community with an Indian underclass. Among the Indian population in centres like Yellowknife, Fried identifies two extremes; which can also be found in smaller communities such as Rae.

> At one extreme we find persons who until recently have lived by hunting and trapping, speak a native language and act and think in essentially traditional modes: at the other extreme, are young men and women of 18-25 who now have some schooling, know no native skills and are incapable of living off the land. However, both are committed to a settlement life.[16]

It is from this latter group of individuals who recognize the powerless Indian position and have at the same time an emotional commitment to "Indian-ness" that the challenges to the dominance of the white group come.

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN-WHITE SITUATION IN THE YELLOWKNIFE - FORT RAE AREA

Two primary research questions were posed and examined during the course of this study. The first of these was: what is the situation of Indian-white relations in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area of the Northwest Territories, what factors contributed to its development and what are its particular characteristics? This chapter is primarily concerned with a discussion of various facets relating to this question. The following chapter will examine the second major research question, that is: what have been the institutional and inter-group consequences of this situation within the research area? By presenting and examining the information that was gathered in this manner, it is felt that the broadest possible consideration can be given to all important facets of the situation and the research conducted in the area. Each chapter combines information gathered during the course of the research and a discussion of this information as it pertains to the research questions.

Culture Contact and Change

The research sites were selected so as to ensure that there would be significant numbers of both Indians and whites present in the area studied. As indicated, the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area was selected because of the differences in the communities noted above and because historical research showed that the Dogrib Indians had been among the last groups in the country to come into direct and lasting contact with European or Euro-Canadian culture, economy and politics. Some further discussion of this population might be useful at this point by way of elaborating on some of the more noticeable and relevant aspects of cultural difference.

At the time the research was conducted, there were three locations within the area with concentrations of Indian population. The largest of these was the predominately Dogrib settlement of Fort Rae with two smaller centres in the immediate vicinity of Yellowknife: on Latham Island in Yellowknife itself and in the "Indian Village" across the bay from Yellowknife.[17] The latter was not explored to any significant degree as the major comparisons concerned, and were being made between, Yellowknife and Fort Rae. In addition, there were a number of other Indian people living in Yellowknife, predominately in the "Old Town" section but also scattered throughout the community according to their financial position.

The majority of the Indian people in the research communities were Dogrib or identified themselves as being Dogrib. In Fort Rae, the Indian population was almost totally of Dogrib ancestry; an observation based upon information provided directly and indirectly by various informants in the community. The few non-Dogrib Indian people living in the community were persons of other tribal affiliations who lived in Rae because of marriage or their work. Of the Indian people contacted by the researcher at Rae, all but two identified themselves, or were identified by other persons, as being Dogrib. In Yellowknife as well as in Rae, the researcher encountered several persons who, although not Treaty Dogrib Indians, nevertheless considered themselves to be Dogrib. In the light of their self-definitions and R. Slobodin's definition of northern Metis, they have been considered as Dogrib Indians.

> A preliminary or working definition of the Mackenzie District Metis is that they are persons of known Indian-European or Eskimo-European ancestry, for the most part occupying the legal status of Whites, who consider themselves and are considered to be Metis.[18]

In Yellowknife, on the other hand, there was a somewhat higher proportion of non-Dogrib Indian people. This was seen as being a result of the status of Yellowknife as both the Territorial capital and the centre of economic activity in the North. In other words, it was apparent that Indians from outside the immediate area had come to Yellowknife seeking opportunities or facilities that were not present in their home settlements. Of the Indian people contacted by the researcher in Yellowknife, more than 80% identified themselves, or were identified by others, as being Dogrib. The remainder were Chipewyan and Slave Indians from other communities in the Northwest Territories.

The great majority of the population of Yellowknife, and a small minority of the population of Fort Rae, was non-Indian, and represented a wide cross-section of the ethnic constituency of Canada. For the purposes of this research, this ethnically heterogeneous non-Indian population was considered to be broadly representative of the culture of the dominant white society when contrasted with the predominately Dogrib population of the area.

Contacts between Indians and whites in the Great Slave Lake region began in the early to mid 1700's, but these were generally of a temporary nature. For the most part, until permanent trading posts were established in the mid 1800's, Chipewyan Indians acted as intermediaries between Dogribs and whites in the expanding fur trade. However, in 1852, the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post at Rae Point on the North Arm of Great Slave Lake as a primary trading post for the Dogrib Indians and as a provisioning post for the Company.[19] In 1879, a Roman Catholic mission was also established at this location, although they both moved to the present site of Fort Rae on Marion Lake in 1906.[20] The changes in the Dogrib culture and way of life that were occasioned by these permanent intrusions of non-Indians and non-Indian culture into the area were often drastic and were still visible in terms of their consequences.

> Prior to the expansion of the fur trade into Dogrib Territory there were no permanent settlements at all, the population consisted of small, fully nomadic groups following in their migration patterns those of the caribou, and though occasionally one or even a few individuals may have perished, no stories or tales of protracted large scale periods of starvation have been passed on, which, in view of the fact that disastrous events among primitive people tend to become parts of their folklore, may be taken as prima facie evidence that such events did not take place.[21]

Jenness provides some additional information about the pre-contact life of the Dogrib Indians, a life style which was to change dramatically with the arrival of the whites.

> The Dogrib were neither an edge-of-the-woods people entirely, like the Chipewyan, nor a purely woodland people like the Slave... They were not very partial to fish, and depended for their main supply of food on the herds of barren-ground caribou, which they snared in pounds and speared in lakes after the manner of the Chipewyan and Yellowknife.[22]

Because of a growing demand for furs, and a growing reliance on fur trapping as a source of needed goods and sustenance, coupled with a decline in the availability of caribou, the life of the Dogrib people was gradually changing from self-sufficiency to increasing dependence on the traders and missionaries.[23] While many Dogribs maintained a semi-nomadic life through the 1940's[24] and into the 1950's[25] the semi-permanent settlement around the trading post and mission at Fort Rae was slowly growing. Intentionally or otherwise, these early years of contact did produce considerable pressures for culture change, changes which were most apparent in the material culture of the Indian people. The transition from spears to guns, from birch-bark canoes to canvas canoes with motors, from skin clothing to cloth, from stone implements and tools to iron and steel are all illustrations of these changes and the degree to which items from the white culture were adopted into the Indian culture. The influence of the missionaries and the conversion, at least nominally, of many of the Indians to Christianity was a further source of acculturative pressures.

Thus it may be seen that the two peoples who met in this area were the representatives of two quite different types of culture, each of which was well suited to the needs of its people. Not only were there important differences in material elements of culture, but there were also differences in major values of each culture. This was particularly true in those areas of life which were connected with land and natural resources. For the Indian people, the natural environment was the source of sustenance and life and the land was something with which they had a direct and personal relationship. These same resources were seen by the incoming non-Indians as the means to the making of economic profit. While the Indian culture in this respect embodied utilitarian values concerning the land, the non-Indian culture and its representatives demonstrated exploitative values. These differences in culture, and the activities which stemmed from them, have directly contributed to many facets of the current situation in the North, particularly to conflicts which have emerged between the two groups.

Domination and Subordination

It has been contended that a dominant-subordinate hierarchical relationship existed between whites and Indians in the research area and that such a relationship has existed virtually since first contact. Although this relationship was sometimes subtle, and at other times rather obvious, it existed none the less in most areas of life and inter-group relations. It became apparent as the research progressed that the hierarchical arrangements which existed in the major areas of the relationships between whites and Indians could be seen as being, in part at least, a direct consequence of the early exploitative contact situation. Since the time of first contact between Indians and whites in North America, Indians have been stereotyped, regarded as savages, as having an inferior culture and as the recipients of acculturative pressures. The reservation system, although not existing formally in the North, is in its origins and nature a good illustration of the effects of these widely held attitudes of exploitation and ethnocentrism. Many of these same ethnocentric attitudes toward Indians were brought to the northern situation and, to a greater or lesser degree, were still noted in many aspects of inter-group relations.

In the Northwest Territories, important positions in the Federal and Territorial administrative structures, in the various economic enterprises operating there, and in other spheres of endeavour were almost exclusively occupied by members of the dominant white group. These various structures each had its own hierarchy of power and authority and in all cases, the vast majority of those at the bottom of the hierarchies were Indians. In a way, this may be seen as being a reflection of the larger, overall power structures within which those of the Northwest Territories function. By this is meant that the decisions as to who will occupy positions in the North are often made by those in power positions in the larger external institutions. Therefore, it may be seen that non-Indians control not only the offices of power and decision-making in the North, but in large measure determine who may have access to them.

De facto dominant-subordinate relationships have been perpetuated in part by the education system and its past and present shortcomings. They have also been perpetuated in part by the understandable reluctance on the part of many Indian people to completely abandon their way of life and important elements of their culture, in the face of the mounting presence and pressures of non-Indian culture. As one young relatively well educated Indian put it: "I'm Indian, not white. While I might do well in their world if I did what they want, I would have to turn away from my own people". This dominant-subordinate relationship was noted in a variety of situations: in the low-level jobs held by most working Indians and in the almost complete absence of Indians from political positions. It was reflected in the treatment of Indian people, as observed by the researcher or related by informants, by government officials, who often exhibited in word and deed a paternalistic and domineering approach.

During the course of the research, the writer became aware of a number of important areas in which domination-subordination was most evident, through both personal observations and informants. These are summarized and presented for discussion under four major headings: domination-subordination in the economic realm, the political structures, the educational system and in those areas of activity associated with Treaty Number Eleven. Although, in reality, all of these are interrelated to a greater or lesser degree, each has been presented and examined relatively independently for the sake of clarity.

Domination-subordination in economics. The most obvious examples of the economic hierarchical structuring and power relationships were noted in what might be termed the continuation of the system of debt economy introduced by the early traders and entrepreneurs in the area. The following passage from a 1913 government report, although under the heading of "Abuses in the Administration of the supplies for the sick and destitute", illustrates the operation of this system rather clearly.

> The Indian is prepared to go trapping, as the late fall has come but unfortunately he has no money wherewith to buy an outfit, and he must needs go to the trader or factor and ask for credit. Being a Hudson Bay Company Indian, that is one who gets his 'arrival' and his 'gratuity' from the Hudson Bay Company, the factor issues him an outfit of supplies and traps and off the Indian goes to the hunting grounds.
>
> It happens frequently however, that he makes a poor catch of fur, and returns to the post with very little.
>
> His supplies are all gone and he finds a bill awaiting him of perhaps $200.00 to $300.00 and probably not more than $50.00 worth of fur wherewith to meet this.
>
> After he has paid in this fur he is destitute, so the procedure is to charge the balance of his account to the Government, issue him fresh supplies on credit and if he again fails in the hunt charge the Government again.
>
> But, (and here is where the trader or factor gets back at the Indian) the Indian still owes his debt although the Government has paid it, and consequently we find the Indian never out of debt, and the destitute fund charged the Government as big as ever.
>
> Direct proof of all this is difficult to get but circumstantial evidence is not wanting.[27]

The Indian people in the area with extremely limited cash resources and in many cases, dependent upon hunting and fishing for a great deal of their food, were in much the same position vis a vis the traders and stores as in the early days described above. Almost all of the Indian people that the researcher spoke to were in debt of one form or another and saw little or no way to get out. In some cases this situation was apparently caused by the purchase of goods which were in no way essential but for which a desire had been created through exposure to the non-Indian cultural milieu. The necessity of making such purchases on extended credit, made them extremely expensive for those on low cash incomes. Credit was also necessary for the purchase of essential items such as canoes, motors, hunting and trapping supplies, etc., with long term results similar to those mentioned above. In addition, the effect of the high prices in the North was complicated by what might be termed the lack of realistic alternative sources of supply, particularly where the Indians were concerned.

This problem was not quite so noticeable in Yellowknife where the people had at least potential access to a number of different and supposedly competing stores. Even here though, the Hudson's Bay Company store, the long-standing traditional source of goods in the North, appeared to draw substantially more Indian clients than did other stores in the town. In Fort Rae on the other hand, the Indian population was by and large restricted in purchasing to the Hudson's Bay Company store and the store operated by the independent trader. The researcher was able to note that essentially no competition existed between these two stores and was told by informants that most of the Indians at Rae generally bought consistently at one or the other of the stores depending on where they had credit. As one man noted:

> I have credit at N's, (the independent trader) and if I buy much at the Bay, N. might hear about it and start demanding payment or cut off my credit.

Our evidence on economic domination is limited and largely hearsay. Several incidents, however, can be related. The post office at Fort Rae, for example was located in the store of the independent trader and thus all those people receiving mail had to go there to get it. The researcher was informed that when the family allowance cheques arrived, some pressure was often exerted upon individuals to use them for purchases in that store. The researcher had no first hand confirmation of this but had no reason to doubt the reports of a number of informants who stated this.

A second case in point was the procedure whereby Indians received the supplies necessary for hunting and trapping, as related to the researcher by a number of informants. The individual would approach one of the traders to get credit and supplies and was accordingly expected to bring the furs which he obtained to that store, the proceeds being applied to his account. In many cases, the trapper would be dealing with the same trader for a number of years, not only for his trapping supplies but for credit during the rest of the year. To keep up this interim credit, it was apparently necessary to continue to patronize the same trader on a regular basis. This gave the traders considerable control over the individuals with whom they did regular business throughout the year.

Further to this point of control, the researcher was told that the Hudson's Bay Company post was paying between ten and fifteen dollars for wolverine pelts but saw wolverine pelts retailing in the Hudson Bay store in Yellowknife for between forty and fifty dollars. If the informants reports of prices paid were true, and even allowing for quality variations and the cost of tanning, this would seem to be a clear example of exploitation with no viable alternatives available to the individual trapper. Attempts to form food co-operatives and to export furs directly to wholesalers had, according to informants, met with no success. According to informants, this was due to insufficient operating capital and lack of public support. The suspicion was voiced by several individuals that there had been strong opposition to such plans by vested commercial interests in the North. This again was unable to be confirmed or denied by the researcher although the informants strongly believed it.

The researcher noted that while the prices that were charged by stores in Yellowknife were considerably higher than in the south, those of the same items in Fort Rae were often even higher. In addition, the Indian population at Fort Rae, was, for all intents and purposes, a protected market for the stores operating there. Few of the Fort Rae people had the necessary financial resources to travel to Yellowknife to shop on anything like a regular basis, although most made occasional trips combining limited shopping with visits etc. Most staples were, however, bought in Rae where regular credit was available. By virtue of their operation within this virtually closed marketplace, the traders in communities like Fort Rae have been able to maintain themselves as a powerful and dominant influence within the community.

While living in Fort Rae, the researcher had many occasions to patronize the stores there and to examine them and their relationships with the community fairly closely. In the course of time, some of the effects of economic exploitation through monopolistic domination of sources of supply were noted. Through personal observation , it was noted that some of the merchandise sold in Fort Rae was definitely substandard. Informants said that a great deal of the clothing sold there was cheaply made and therefore didn't last very long. This could not be checked except by observation and this tended to support the Indians' claims.

Purchases made by the researcher quite clearly substantiated many of the complaints of the Indians. On three of five occasions, bread which had been purchased by the researcher was found to be quite mouldy. Fruit and vegetables that were found there were noted to be generally in poor condition and prohibitively expensive. Meat was generally sold in a frozen state and in this condition it was extremely difficult to determine its actual quality. One purchase of "stewing beef", of two purchases made by the researcher, was found upon thawing to be almost totally fat and gristle. Quite a few informants mentioned that they had found the same thing themselves on many occasions.

A further source of apparent exploitation of the Indian people was noted in both of the stores in Fort Rae. In each, there were prominently placed, large and conspicuous displays of soft drinks and candy which were consumed in great quantities by people of all ages. The exploitation was not only in the products but in the prices. The price of pop for example was 25¢ for a tin that was then selling in Edmonton for 10¢; a difference that, to the researcher, could not be explained by the cost of transportation to the North. Many complaints were addressed to the researcher by Indian people about the high costs of such necessities as fuel oil and gasoline. During his stay, the researcher noted that mail order catalogues were to be found in many homes but was told that little purchasing was done this way, even when cash was available. According to one lady:

> If we send for something from the catalogue from Rae, N. (the trader) will know about it because he runs the post office and we might have trouble with our credit there. If we mail it from Yellowknife, we have to go to Yellowknife to get the parcel or he knows when it arrives at the post office in Rae.

Education and hierarchical structuring. As was the case with the economic institutions and their consequences for the situation of the Indian people, the current situation with respect to education in this area must be examined with respect to its historical development. The first educational institutions in the North were mission schools, sponsored and staffed by religious organizations. They, as did the incoming representatives of the larger economic institutions, reflected in many ways attitudes and values which were then prominent in the larger non-Indian society. The intentions of these early missionary-educators may have been of the best, but the negative effects often linger to the present. The purposes of the missionary-educators were twofold: to "civilize" the Indians and convert them to Christianity, and to provide a rudimentary education. A number of comments about these facets of early mission activity, particularly education, are contained in the 1913 report cited earlier.

> Too much commendation and praise cannot be bestowed on the individual efforts of priests, preachers, brethren, and sisters, who are laboring in the north for the spiritual good of the savage.
>
> Stories of the hardihood, faith, kindness and energy of the northern missionary are too well known to bear repetition, and their work will doubtless be

> placed to their eternal credit, but circumstances reveal the fact that, today the Indian from a worldly point of view is no better off than he was before the advent of the missionary. (emphasis added)[27]

Later, the author of the report writes:

> In their efforts to impress upon the savage the habits of cleanliness, sobriety, truthfulness and good living, the missionary has met with a great deal of success.
>
> Taken in conjunction with their work of an elementary medical character, they have succeeded in arresting the scourge of consumption and other diseases that are so inseparable from the Indian and due for the most part to ignorance and wrong mode of life.[28]

These quotations have been included here to illustrate some of the attitudes prevalent in the early 1900's with respect to Indians in the North. Elsewhere in the report, however, there are descriptions of the education system and some of the major problems that were then seen as being associated with it. Many of these same problems were all too clearly apparent in the North at the time this research was conducted. The education that is described below was primarily undertaken at various boarding schools, a system which is still much a part of the northern education.

> On a general basis such essential features as religious knowledge, French or English, reading, writing, arithmetic, cleanliness and domestic duties such as cleaning fish, making moccasins, woodchopping, etc., analagous to household science are taught with a thoroughness that is praiseworthy.
>
> This system, however, would seem to go too far and yet not far enough, and although this may appear paradoxical, yet on further consideration will be found to be only too true.
>
> The question of paramount importance in respect to the education of the Indian boy or girl is whether

> they are to be moulded into a prototype of the present day product of civilization and take their place with every other Canadian citizen, or whether they are to be equipped with merely sufficient education to fear God, honor the King, and respect the laws of the country.[29]

Subsequently, in this report, there is some mention and discussion of the effects of education upon children who would in all likelihood have to earn their living or support themselves in the traditional pursuits of "hunting, trapping and fishing". The difficulty was recognized as being a two-fold one: the education being provided did not provide sufficient skills for the Indian youth to enter the larger society, even "to procure a position with the trader of the North" and; by attending such schools during the formative years, the youth was handicapped by insufficient knowledge of the necessary traditional skills.[30] This betwixt and between position of the Indian student was aptly described in the report.

> The product turned out by the Indian schools referred to is rather at a loss to know which sphere in life he is best fitted for.[31]

In the past, and in many instances today, children were attending boarding or residential schools that were often hundreds of miles from their families and home communities, for ten to eleven months of the year. The attitudes of the teachers, the curriculum and, for example, prohibitions against speaking native languages, all tended to emphasize a relationship involving the assumption that the non-Indian culture and way of life was superior to the Indian culture and way of life. The goal of the early educational system, as far as occupational training went, seemingly was to produce "hewers of wood and drawers of water", clerks and helpers for the traders and missions.

The researcher was told by a number of informants, who had been pupils in the old residential system, of a variety of traumatic experiences and negative consequences. These included such things as being called "young savages", being beaten by the teachers for speaking their own language, being forced to take religious education and so forth. More serious perhaps were the difficulties they recounted of adjusting to their families and communities when they left school. Typical comments were: "I had to learn my language over again"; "I was a stranger to my parents and they were strangers to me"; "When I quit school, I couldn't get a job and I wasn't very good at hunting and trapping. These things I had to learn late in life and I found it very difficult". All of these informants had undergone these experiences within the last twenty years.

At the time the research was conducted, Fort Rae had an eight room elementary school (to grade six) with an enrolment of about 175 pupils. Any students from Rae in grades beyond six still had to attend residential schools in locations outside the community. The teachers at the Fort Rae School were all non-Indian while the pupils were predominantly Indian - there were some children of non-Indians living in Rae attending the school. According to informants, both adults and children, while some of the teachers did make an attempt to interact to some degree with the Indian community, the general curriculum and the teachers related minimally to the Indian culture and way of life. There was apparently an attempt on the part of many children to avoid school as much as possible. These problems could be attributed in part to the staff of the school, but more generally to the functioning of a white controlled administrative bureaucracy.

Living in Fort Rae during the summer months, the researcher had considerable opportunity to talk with many students who were attending the school in Rae, as well as students who were attending residential schools in other external centres. There was considerable, but not total agreement that they were not getting much of use from their education in its current form. The younger children directed the bulk of their negative comments toward the discipline in the school and the difficulties in learning "white subjects". Older students, particularly those in high school were more critical in terms of the perceived lack of ability to get jobs through their education and what they saw as prejudice within the system. While many of those in secondary schools said that they were attending only until they could legally leave, quite a few expressed a desire to finish. Finishing school for some meant the possibility of getting a job in the larger white society, usually connected with "the government", while for others, there was a desire to complete some form of higher education and then to return to the North to "help my people". Two individuals, for example, wanted to become teachers and one expressed a desire to become a social worker. Quite a few of the students were, however, looking forward to the opening of the new Edzo school which was under construction during the second field trip. The reasons mentioned generally related to the fact that they could live at home while attending school and therefore not be so isolated from their families. The researcher noted another reason, although it was not so openly stated, that Indian people from Rae had been instrumental in establishing this school and there was therefore a strong undercurrent of pride in it. Factors relating to this new school will be discussed more fully at a later point.

Political institutions and domination. Dominant-subordinate relationships were noted at three levels, all of which were interrelated within the larger situation in the area. These were the Indian band or community level, the Territorial Government level and the level of the Federal Government agencies represented in the North. Traditionally, authority and decision-making among the Athapaskan peoples was not clearly defined, tending toward shifting individual or family influences and band consensus. Treaty Eleven had the effect of imposing a formalized and in many ways foreign authority system of chiefs and councillors in each band. Helm and Damas note this and its results.

> Among the Athapaskans government fiat has created the 'tribal' chief, regional headmen or 'councillors' and their election. Their social and political role is generally limited to that of intermediary between the Indian individual and/or group and various government offices.[32]

Internal band policy was still based primarily on consensus among the adult men of a particular community. However, there have been attempts made with varying degrees of success, to introduce measures which would have the effect of eroding the authority of the chief and band council within their own communities. One such type of attempt was observed by the researcher and involved the processes of promoting a village council; a step which would have had the effect of sharply reducing the authority of the chief and councillors at Fort Rae, who were generally rather influential. Promises of financial assistance to the community and so forth were used by the Territorial Government in an effort to make these desired changes more acceptable.

The researcher raised the question of this change with respect to Fort Rae with a government official; asking why it was necessary in order for the community to receive the promised funds. The reply was to the effect that the chief and band council were elected by, and therefore represented, only the Indians in the community. Turning such government funds over to the Indian authority would therefore exclude the non-Indian residents of Rae from "fair participation in their disbursement and utilization". A village council, elected by everyone in the community, would on the other hand represent everyone, Indians and whites alike, according to this official.

There was a division of opinion among the Indian people concerning the possible consequences of these changes, particularly in so far as they would harm or benefit the community and affect the authority structures. Some, apparently feeling that they were for the better, noted the potential of more money for the community and the increased employment that might result. On the other hand, there were those who were strongly opposed to such changes, feeling that they would only serve to increase the power of the whites in Rae, and erode what had come to be regarded as traditional authority structures. The researcher felt that this division reflected, in part at least, an intra-band rivalry for power among some of the families, a conclusion that was supported by several knowledgeable informants. The traditionalist sentiment has always been fairly strong in Fort Rae, although in some respects this was seen to be changing somewhat, particularly among the younger age groups.

> Even in the major settlements of Rae and Lac La Martre, there is still a strong tendency, particularly among the older people not to choose chiefs that can speak English in order that they may be less open to influence from Eurocanadian society. These chiefs still play a very strong role. It appears, however, that among many of the younger people quite different views prevail.[33]

The researcher noted, it should be added, some evidence that the older people were willing to accept and even aid certain changes as will be discussed later.

On the subject of changes which would have the effect of altering the traditional authority structures within the band, there was noted a fairly consistent degree of opposition when proposals were made unilaterally by either the Territorial or Federal Governments. There was evident in Fort Rae a marked desire for meaningful consultation with the different levels and departments of government respecting such changes in the community. By this the Indian people meant real, not token, consultation, where dialogue could be established and where their wishes would be heard and acted upon.

According to a member of the Fort Rae band council: "Now, government people come and talk with us. They listen to what we say and then go and do what they want." Through many conversations with people in Rae on this general issue, the researcher arrived at the conclusion that while some of the "government ideas" were seen as being possibly beneficial, the often high-handed or paternalistic manner in which they were presented or implemented was not acceptable. As one young man phrased it:

> They seem to think that, because our people don't have a lot of education and don't speak much English, we don't know very much. The government experts don't listen to the people who have lived in this country all their lives and know it well.

At the Territorial Government level, the hierarchical relationship between whites and Indians was readily apparent in terms of those who held positions of power and decision-making. The federally appointed commissioner of the Northwest Territories was, and always has been, white. The majority of the members of the Territorial Council, whether elected or appointed, have always been white. While a number of native people have been appointed to the Territorial Council, the first elected non-white was an Indian man from Rae, elected in 1970. It is to be expected that with a growing awareness of the mechanics of power, more Indian people will be running for office in the future.

With respect to the civil service bureaucracies there were, to the researcher's knowledge, no Indian people in any of the controlling or decision-making positions. Disregarding the possibly valid argument of the lack of necessary technical or educational qualifications, (an argument which also points to the ineffectiveness of the education system), this in effect meant that in the Northwest Territories, where the majority of the population was non-white, all effective power positions were held by whites. It was not surprising therefore, to hear the Indian people refer to the main Territorial Government office building in Yellowknife as the "ivory tower", a name that apparently reflected the colour of both the building and the occupants.

The centralization of Territorial Government agencies and decision-making in Yellowknife further increased the remoteness of the Indian people in the settlements from power. Brief visits by senior officials and a few resident, but often transient, junior officials did not allow the majority of the Indian people to feel that they had any real access or input to decisions which affected them.

As is the case in the rest of Canada, registered Indians in the Northwest Territories come directly under the authority of the Federal Government through the Indian Act. Hawthorn notes the importance of this act with respect to the relationships which exist between the Indians of Canada and the Federal Government.

> The basic Indian policy of the federal government is found in the Indian Act. The Act is a comprehensive piece of legislation which defines who shall be considered an Indian, and the method by which Indian status can be given up. It contains detailed provisions dealing with the land basis of the Indian community, a system of local government, and special provisions relating to taxation, liquor, inheritance and education... As a consequence, a

> person of Indian status enjoys an unusually intense relationship with the federal government.[34]

At the time this research was conducted, few of the Indian people that the researcher knew would have used the term "enjoys" to describe their people's relationship with the Federal Government. The overall tone of most conversations dealing with Indian relations with the Federal Government could best be described as one of acute frustration. Most of the people contacted felt that the Federal Government could, and did, exercise considerable arbitrary power in making decisions which directly affected them. There was what might be described as a feeling of powerlessness, noted with respect to a perceived inability to communicate their problems and needs successfully to the "government". The relative isolation in the North and the perceived inability to reach or influence the "government" were seen as being the most important factors involved in the self-definition on the part of many Indians as being subordinate in the power hierarchy of politics. One older man summed up a great deal of the frustration that was felt by many Indian people when he said: "Every time we ask the government for help, we are told that the government is broke. So how does the government help us then?" A great deal of this frustration was the direct result of having to deal with lower level representatives of the government agencies who did not have the power to make decisions but rather had to follow general directives.

A major issue that emerged during the research was the so-called "white paper on Indian policy"[35] that was released during the first field trip, or at least reached the North during that time. There was almost unanimous rejection of this proposed policy by the Indian people who had read it or were familiar with its contents. It was viewed as a device whereby the Federal Government was unilaterally opting out of its obligations to the Indian peoples. Apart from the actual policy proposals contained in the paper, the most vigorous objection was raised to the following statement made in it.

> This proposal is a recognition of the necessity made plain in a year's intensive discussions with Indian people throughout Canada.[36]

The Indian leaders with whom the researcher was in contact claimed that they had not been consulted and generally saw this statement and their knowledge of the reality as indicative of the Federal Government's general attitude toward Indians. The proposals were viewed as being a further attempt on the part of the government to eradicate most of the rights that the Indian people still held. As in the economic and educational realms, the Indian people were regarded by the majority of whites, and recognized themselves, as being at the bottom of a political power hierarchy and as such subordinate to the non-Indian population.

Treaty Number Eleven. Two major areas of contention related to the treaty were noted by the researcher: first, the dispute over the "oral" versus the "written" versions of the treaty; and second, the violations of the treaty that in the Indian's perception the government had committed. Treaty Number Eleven was signed at Rae on

August 22, 1921, and at other communities in the Northwest Territories during 1921 and 1922. There has been considerable controversy about the treaty negotiations, the actual signing, and the treaty itself ever since, particularly as there were a number of people still alive who had been present at that time. Therefore, a number of actual witnesses to the event considerably supplement the oral accounts of the circumstances surrounding the treaty that have been handed down in the band.

The accounts that have been gleaned from both of these sources were consistent and clear. Two core issues were noted, each of which pertained directly to the dispute over the treaty and treaty rights. The first of these involved the cession of the land mass referred to in the treaty and the second involved the related rights to the use of the land for hunting, trapping and fishing. Taken together, these two issues seemed to sum up the crucial variables of Indian physical and cultural survival in the North: land as home and as a source of meaning to existence, and land as the source of sustenance for the people.

According to the written version of the treaty, the Indian peoples who signed the treaty ceded approximately three hundred and seventy-two thousand square miles to the crown.

> ...the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His Successors forever, all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits...[37]

In compensation, the Indian peoples who had signed this treaty were to receive yearly cash payments, reserve lands, (which have not yet been granted or taken), and certain other supplies and gifts.[38] The written version of the treaty also granted to the Indian signatories certain limited rights to the land and their traditional pursuits of livelihood.

> And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the Country acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.[39]

Concerning the game regulations, or their possible implementation as noted above, there was a rather interesting contradiction found in the Commissioner's report attached to the treaty.

> The Indians seemed afraid, for one thing, that their liberty to hunt, trap and fish would be taken away or curtailed, but were assured by me that this would not be the case,... I also pointed out that any game laws made were to their advantage,...[40]

If the assurances that the Commissioner of the treaty made concerning the curtailment of traditional rights, as noted above, were indeed made, they would have contradicted the letter of the written treaty and supported the "oral" version as claimed by the Indians.

On the other side of the coin, there was considerable dissatisfaction among the Indian people with respect to the implementation of the written version of the treaty, which was considered to be incorrect, and with what would then be considered to be broken agreements. The Indian people claimed that they had not given up all their land forever to the whites and that they had been assured during the negotiations that they would not be subject to game regulations. To have done either would have been "like giving up our lives". While the Indian peoples may have been unfamiliar with the sub-surface resources of the territory ceded, they certainly knew and respected the surface resources which provided their livelihood. In the quotations which follow, it is interesting to note the references to Bishop Breynat who had accompanied the treaty party and who had apparently used his influence with the Indians during the "negotiations". The following account was related by the daughter of the Dogrib chief who signed the treaty in 1921.

> Murphy was made chief of the Dog-rib band before the treaty was signed. My father said that 'since I am not going to live very long, so long as there will be no closed season on game I will accept the treaty money'. For two days there was a conference and still Chief Murphy did not accept the treaty. The Bishop invited Chief Murphy over for a private meeting. He was told by the Bishop that even if Chief Murphy accepted the treaty they will not lose their rights but rather it will be as he asks. From there Chief Murphy laid down the conditions upon which he will accept the treaty. He asked for a large piece of land which consisted of Artillery Lake to Snowdrift up to Seymour River to Conwayto Lake to Great Bear Lake which was to be given to the Dog-rib Band, and if this was accepted by the Government then he would accept the treaty. As long as the sun rises and the Great River flows, there was to be no closed season of any kind upon game within this boundary. When the terms was accepted by the Government, only then did Chief Murphy accept the treaty.[41]

The account given by a later Dogrib chief, whom the researcher met during the first field trip, is essentially the same, although he emphasized several important points.

> Chief Murphy accepted the treaty only after being persuaded by the Bishop to accept the treaty. The Bishop said to Chief Murphy that if they did not accept the treaty now, that in the future when there will be many white people coming here they will not be aware of the Indian rights. No hardship will come out of accepting the treaty now. We did not accept the treaty to give up our land for $5, only when there's no closed season on game on our land, only then will we accept the treaty. I was present when the treaty was accepted and land was not mentioned and even now the government calls me a liar.

Perhaps the most eloquent statement was made to both the Indian interviewer and the researcher by a Fort Rae band councillor. After substantially agreeing with the previously cited statements, he went on to add the following.

> At the treaty nothing was said nor agreed concerning land being given to the Crown. If such were the case no Dog-rib would have taken treaty money. Within the Indian society there is no concept of individual land ownership but rather the Indian society as a whole maintains a concept of communal land ownership.
>
> We cannot give away the very thing that our existence depends upon for our livelihood. Therefore how could we give up this land to the Crown; which will benefit the Crown but destroy what makes the Indian character or culture.
>
> If the terms were such at the time that we had to give up our land in the treaty, we would have flatly refused the treaty money...
>
> The chief that signed the original treaty is no longer among us but we remember his words, because words do not die, they are carried down from generation to the present generation.

The hierarchical relationship that was assumed by the incoming whites, and their dominant and domineering position in it, was reflected not only in the processes directly connected with the treaty but with the ultimate consequences of those processes; the unilateral abrogation of what the Indian people felt were their rights. The most significant, and the most often mentioned by informants, was the introduction and enforcement of closed hunting seasons. For people who, even today, depend heavily on the land for food, this has imposed a serious hardship. With respect to the duck hunting season, for example, the Indian people argued that the open season in the Northwest Territories begins too late in the year for them to be very successful. By the time hunting is legally allowed, they claim, most of the ducks will have begun their migration south. A suspicion was voiced by a number of informants that the regulation of seasons for migratory game birds was strongly biased toward the white sport hunters in the south. There, in contrast to the North, the season was open during the peak migration period.

A dominant-subordinate hierarchical power relationship was clearly evident in the four major areas which have most vitally affected the Indian people and their relations with the dominant white society. In decision-making and power the Indian people have been, and still saw themselves, as subordinate to the non-Indian population. The historical development of the situation, and especially of the institutions referred to, reflected the assumption, imposition and continuation of the dominant position of the non-Indian society and institutions. Indeed, the various institutions have had the effect, intentional or not, of reinforcing a hierarchical relationship between the two groups.

Dominance and Limitations on Social Mobility

A number of processes were found to have been utilized by the dominant group in the North to reinforce their position and to counter possible challenges to it from members of the subordinate Indian population. Various facets of prejudice and discrimination were critical in this aspect of the general inter-group relations, particularly in the several possible areas of social mobility. The contacts with the Euro-Canadian cultural milieu and economic system, as well as the more overt pressures for acculturation, has encouraged or fostered desires for varying degrees of mobility on the part of many Indian people. For some, this has meant rising expectations toward material improvement in their life situation; for others, integration into the dominant group; and for others, access to particular segments of the larger society, especially the occupational spectrum.

At the same time, the dominant group, or segments of it, imposed limitations on the realization of such goals, sometimes deliberately, and other times seemingly unconsciously. These limitations or barriers have been defined in operation as those aspects of the situation which inhibited, prevented or delimited the possibility of inter-group social mobility. These barriers were especially operative when there was an intended goal of integration into the dominant group and accompanying areas of prerogative, or when mobility was desired in one particular institutional sector, economic advancement being the most common.

The degree of such mobility that was possible or allowed, either broadly in terms of overall integration or narrowly with respect to particular institutional spheres, was by and large determined by those in positions of power and influence. While this generally referred to the control and power exercised by members of the dominant group, there were also instances where subordinate group members were also influential. In general, however, the real limitations to social mobility had been introduced to the situation by, and were enforced by, the dominant white group. The major area of contention was economics; access to jobs, control over wealth, etc.

It has been suggested in this study that by no means all of the members of the subordinate group may seek or even desire to be mobile in the sense of integration into the larger society or into specific institutional segments. This may well have been a partial result of the hostility demonstrated by some subordinate group members toward those who were attempting inter-group mobility, and particularly toward those who had achieved a fair measure of integration. In a number of instances, the researcher noted considerable negative feelings directed by some Indians toward those individuals who demonstrated a high degree of acculturation associated with attempted mobility or integration.

By way of illustration, several informants made repeated negative references to a number of Indian people who had achieved a measure of mobility within the institutions of the white society. These were individuals who had achieved not only entrance but also some vertical mobility within the institutions, gaining positions which gave them some degree of authority over other Indian people. In exercising their control or authority, these persons were said to have become "whiter than white". One instance noted by the researcher involved an individual who had been for all intents and purposes excluded from all Indian activities and association because of this.

The controls on mobility found to be thus operative in the situation were also found to create some problems for those persons who had attempted some sort of mobility but who had been unsuccessful. This was noted in two particular respects; personal difficulties on the part of the individual concerned, or subsequent interpersonal problems on the part of the individual and other members of the subordinate group. These were sometimes related, depending upon the specific circumstances involved.

With respect to the effects on the individual personally, one particular case with which the researcher was very familiar may be cited by way of illustration. In this case, a young Indian man had obtained a job in Yellowknife, was earning a reasonable wage, and had been steadily employed for over six months in this position. He had purchased a used car and, as he told the researcher, was saving money with the intention of getting married. One evening, however, he and a few of his friends went to a bar and he became, as he put it, "just a bit high". He attempted to drive home and in the process ran his car off the road. No one was injured in the accident and no damage was done to any property other than to his own vehicle. He was however subsequently arrested, held overnight in jail and convicted of impaired driving. He was given the option of a rather stiff fine or a jail term, and although it virtually eliminated his savings paid the fine. Talking with the researcher after the court session, he was very upset with the proceedings and felt that the punishment he had received far exceeded the offence. He attributed this in part to the fact that he felt that he had been considered "another drunken Indian who needed a lesson". He quit his job and left Yellowknife, telling the researcher that: "If this is the way I'm treated by the white man, I've had enough. I'm going hunting". When contacted during the second field trip, the researcher found that he had made no further attempts to return to the white occupational structure.

The problems that could be created in inter-personal relations within the subordinate group were illustrated by comments and treatment addressed toward individuals who had attempted mobility but who had not been successful for one reason or another. These difficulties appeared to involve only those individuals who had attempted to totally assimilate and who had openly expressed rejection of the Indian way of life. In the cases with which the researcher was familiar personally, the comments were usually to the effect of "he wanted to be a white man" and "we weren't good enough for him then". Such individuals, who had returned to Fort Rae, appeared to be quite generally ignored by other members of the community apart from their immediate family. At least one such individual seemed to take considerable trouble to isolate himself from the community. He was never observed, while the researcher was in Rae, to participate in any community activities nor even to chat or gamble with the other men.

The severity of the difficulties that a person encountered in this way was very much dependent upon the degree of self-identification of the individual with the values and goals of the dominant group. Individuals with a strong out-group identification tended to risk a possible rejection from their own group when they attempted some form of overt inter-group mobility. It appeared that the stronger this identification was, and the more openly it was expressed, the greater was the possibility of in-group rejection whether the attempt was successful or not.

During the course of the research, a number of primary factors were identified as being influential in determining the nature and extent of the limitations or barriers to social mobility and their operation in day to day life.

Cultural differences. The cultural differences between Indians and non-Indians were important in this regard because of the overt pressures or demands for conformity with Euro-Canadian culture that were prerequisite for extensive mobility. In this context, one of the major areas of difference involved differing orientations toward work held by Indians and non-Indians. This included such aspects as attitudes toward time, economic and social competition and so forth. In other words, the values expressed by members of the dominant group, and which were a part of its institutions, were not part of the Indian culture. The traditional Indian culture, still strongly influential in this respect, involved quite different attitudes toward work, particularly regularly scheduled wage work, than did the Euro-Canadian society.

In this respect, opinions were expressed by quite a few non-Indians in the area that the Indian people did not seem to be able to adjust, or even want to adjust, to the conditions of work in the non-Indian society and institutions. That is to say that work on a "nine to five, Monday through Friday, three week holiday a year basis" was seen as being unappealing to the Indians. Most whites who expressed these ideas did so in a negative sense and attributed attributes such as "lazy" and "loafer" to the Indians. To a great extent the orientations given negative connotations by whites were held positively by many Indian informants who expressed a strong preference for the more relaxed and less regimented traditional ways of working. To the extent that Indian people were expected to conform to the Euro-Canadian attitudes and practices in work if they were to be mobile, these differences posed limitations which were difficult to overcome.

A second aspect of cultural difference which was, in part, influential in affecting mobility, was the different concept of authority and authority structures. Whereas authority in the white society and institutions was impersonal and often related to wealth and power, the Indian people identified authority more personally with the immediate groups or individuals with whom they had ready and continuous contact. The authority that was readily apparent and readily accepted was the authority of the chief, the band council, the "prophet", and particularly the "elders"; in other words, the authority of the band; of the people themselves. This idea of authority was rather influential, even with respect to the younger and socially active people who were seen on several occasions to ultimately defer to the decisions of the chief and elders. As one young man said:

> I will argue for change and for my own ideas with the chief but when he makes a decision, he is speaking for my people and I will go along with him.

The necessity of conforming with the impersonal and often remote hierarchy of power and authority in non-Indian institutions was rather difficult to accept.

A third area of cultural difference was also found to be influential in this regard: the family structure and expectations and obligations related to kinship. The Indian people, especially in Rae, had a relatively complete extended family system. With as many as four generations living in either the same house or in close proximity to one another, a great deal of mutual aid and support, emotional and economic, was available to all members. In terms of economics and livelihood for example, such families would receive and share sustenance from a number of sources: old age pensions, family allowance, hunting, trapping and fishing, occasional wage work, and possibly social assistance. On the other hand, the larger white society was seen by the Indian people to demand, generally, a more mobile nuclear family unit which, even with the seventy miles between Rae and Yellowknife, could cause disruption and even hardship. While an increasing number of younger people were seen to be breaking the old pattern, usually for economic reasons, there was pressure against doing so and many were not. Of those who had left, many expressed a desire to return to their home community in the future although they recognized that this would be difficult.

Prejudice and stereotypes. Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination directed toward members of minority groups have long been known to inhibit or prevent social mobility and to affect relationships between the groups. Throughout the two field trips, the researcher encountered among many of the non-Indians a widely held variety of stereotypes of Indians in general and Indians in the area in particular. That these stereotypes were, in most cases, tied to prejudices and acts of discrimination soon became apparent. Stereotypes and prejudice were noted in most aspects of inter-group relations: from the work situation to social activities, from administrative decisions and policies to law enforcement. Some of the more commonly held and expressed stereotypes were that: Indians were lazy and really couldn't work very well; Indians couldn't hold their liquor, drank too much and often made trouble when they were drinking; Indians and their houses were dirty, and so forth. Stereotypes of this nature were particularly influential, as well as difficult to combat, in that very few of the non-Indian population as observed by the researcher had contacts with Indian people outside their occupational spheres, or other impersonal situations.

Stereotypes, and the associated prejudices, as they were found to exist in the North, were a definite factor in the difficulties that Indian people experienced in obtaining employment. For example, the researcher had an opportunity to ask an individual in a management position with one of the local mines why local Indian workers were not more extensively utilized. He replied that "we have had too many Indians working here who used to get drunk or something over the weekends and not show up the next week." The researcher then asked how frequently non-Indian employees acted in a similar manner but received no answer. He also volunteered the information that it was considered to be less expensive and "less trouble" to bring in trained men from the south than to "waste time training Indians". It became quite clear in this and in other similar conversations with actual or potential employers that Indians as a group were judged according to stereotypes derived from a variety of sources.

One particular aspect of the stereotyped configuration held of Indian people, that the researcher noted on several occasions, was references made to the "unreliability of the Indian worker", and "the need for constant supervision". An illustration of this may be taken from a discussion with an official in the judicial system who, it should be added, was considered by both Indians and non-Indians to be extremely fair in the performance of his duties, opinions which were confirmed by personal observation on the part of the researcher. In discussing possible answers to the problems facing Indians in the North, particularly their relations with the encroaching white society, he suggested that encouraging them to enlist and serve in the armed forces in the North might be a possible, although partial, solution. This he felt would provide Indian people with educational and occupational training in relatively familiar surroundings and would also provide exposure to "a type of discipline that was necessary for them to become a productive part of the larger society". Although his intentions, like those of many others, were good, they were still coloured by stereotypes and assimilationist ideas.

Formal education requirements. The formal and specialized educational requirements that are so much a part of today's life and which are so necessary for mobility, or even employment, in modern, technologically oriented society, were found to be an important facet of the barriers between Indians and whites in the North. It has been this relatively advanced type of society that the Indians have been increasingly exposed to as modern white-dominated development has taken place in the North. The relative difficulty that Indian people have had in the education system, and in obtaining advanced technological training in particular, has been quite influential in limiting mobility where it has been desired. During the early years of contact in the North, and indeed virtually until the end of the Second World War, Indians had little difficulty on this account. The traditional informal Indian educational processes, perhaps supplemented by some mission school education, were sufficient for survival and the demands made upon the Indians by the non-Indian society. However, it was felt that the educational facilities and opportunities for Indian people have not been sufficient to cope with the increasing demands for highly skilled personnel. This was complicated by the fact that much of the education was oriented toward white middle class southern society and had little relevance to the Indian and the North. Few Indian people were found who had the necessary skills and training to move into anything but the very bottom rungs of the occupational hierarchy.

As a result of changes that have already occurred in the school system and changes which are now in progress, younger Indian people have greatly increased opportunities for educational advancement if they desire it. However, even with free education to the post-secondary level, many felt that the attainment of educational qualifications were overly difficult and insufficiently rewarding. The reasons most frequently mentioned were cultural differences with respect to work and education, combined with prejudices and stereotypes operating within the educational system. In summary of this point, it may be noted that the technological demands made upon and by northern development as it is taking place, have long since bypassed the traditional Indian skills, a process which has in the course of time contributed greatly to the gradual isolation of the Indian people from the mainstream of development and the larger society as a whole.

Isolation. The relative isolation of the North as a whole from the larger Canadian society and the real centres of power and decision-making also contributed to the barriers between the Indians and the whites. In addition, the geographic and social isolation of the Indians within the North made it even more difficult for Indians to be mobile. The separation of Indian communities such as Fort Rae, in both a geographic and social sense, made communication with, and access to, the larger society quite difficult. While developments in communications technology were slowly eliminating some of the aspects of such isolation, they also created additional problems for the Indian people through their exposure to new cultural items and the creation of new needs and demands. While many people wished to retain a traditional way of life, increased exposure to the external dominant society was tending to draw many away often without the prerequisites necessary to cope with the larger society. Changes which were felt by the Indian people to be essential if such persons were to enter the larger society on anything like equal terms with whites were difficult to effect because of the remoteness of the centres of decision making. The isolation also had a negative effect in that decisions and changes were often made by the dominant power structures without adequate knowledge of the North, of the situation and wishes of the Indian people, and of the possible consequences.

The isolation also affected those who desired mobility, especially economic mobility, in other ways. To obtain the education or occupational training necessary for mobility the Indian person had to travel long distances and remain away from his home community for extended periods of time. That there has been some reluctance on the part of many to do so, in view of the consequences previously described, was not surprising. On the other hand, bringing the facilities to the Indian communities, or even to the North, was regarded by those in power positions as being too expensive for the most part. In addition, communities such as Rae offered little employment or opportunity for the individual who has achieved the qualifications necessary for occupational mobility, necessitating an out-migration.

Discussion. Limitations of varying severity, and affecting different aspects of the inter-group relations in the research area were found to be associated with the overall dominant-subordinate hierarchy. These were noted in a wide range of activities and institutions and, for the most part, could be seen as stemming from, or being related to, the four factors discussed above. For the purposes of discussion, attention was focused on three interrelated areas; the political, economic and educational institutions. As various facets of these three have already been presented, the following discussion will be brief.

There were few overt or blatant indicators of the obstacles which existed in Indian-white relations and which particularly affected general social and economic mobility. There were, for example, no laws which specifically discriminated against the subordinate group, although sometimes the differential enforcement of laws appeared to have this effect. There were few aspects of these barriers which were admitted openly by members of the dominant group, although custom and circumstances often dictated that they be applied in specific situations. The barriers, as defined previously, and their effects on the subordinate group and on inter-group relations were observed more often in the consequences of action on the part of dominant group members than in actions themselves. Although often having specific derivations in historical or external circumstances, the barriers in operation often were the result of omission rather than commission; the result of a combination of circumstances rather than of specific design.

The status of the majority of the Indian population of the area, that of treaty Indians, did provide some basis of differentiation between them and the white population. This was related to the fact that treaty Indians do have a legal status separate and distinct from non-Indians and as such, have some rights not held by non-treaty persons. A major difference between the position of treaty Indians in the Northwest Territories and in the rest of Canada is that there were no reserves in the North; land so provided for in the treaty having not been granted or taken. Legally established and defined areas of Indian land, which provide the basis for a physical, social and geographic barrier between whites and Indians, did not exist in the North. However, predominately Indian communities such as Fort Rae operated in much the same way and with much the same results, although without the legal status and protection against exploitation.

As has been stated previously, the barriers between the dominant and subordinate groups, and their various manifestations, were predominately controlled by the dominant group. While in operation they may be reinforced by elements within the subordinate group, as has been noted, the prime responsibility for their existence and functioning lies with the dominant group. In the research communities, it was noted that a major component of their existence and functioning was the concept of Indian-ness, as opposed to a non-Indian society and culture. Associated with this were the ideas, attitudes and actions of the non-Indian population of the North; the stereotypes and exploitation held and imposed especially by those in power positions. Many in such positions, as representatives of larger power structures, were felt to reflect the attitudes and ideas of those in power positions in the south.

All of the various facets of the barriers, which were noted and identified, were very much interrelated with the historical isolation of the area as a whole and of the Indian people in particular. The fact that the barriers seemed to be more pervasive than in other parts of the country may have been related to a "collapsed" period of extensive contact in the North. That is to say, intense and relatively continuous contact between Indians and whites in the North has occurred over a relatively short period of time. It has involved more immediate contact with modern, technologically advanced society without the more lengthy period of adjustment found in areas of earlier contact. In other parts of the country, the Indian population has had a greater opportunity to become aware of and acclimatized to changes which affected them.

The Indian people in the research area were essentially caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, if they attempted to be mobile and move into the mainstream of the larger society - as there was considerable pressure to do - the factors identified above tended to mitigate against their probable success. On the other hand, it was increasingly difficult to avoid the continuous assimilationist pressures of the dominant group and maintain a more traditional way of life. The media, for example, contributed to a situation in which new needs and desires were created but the means of attaining them were not available or closed to them by the dominant group.

Since the arrival of non-Indians in the Northwest Territories, virtually all of the dominating or power positions in the North, or positions which have affected the North, have been held by whites. This has been particularly true of the three areas under discussion here; the political, economic and educational institutions. All three of these have been intimately interrelated with the development of the situation in the North. Having control over the power and decision making positions, and the underlying economic resources, non-Indians have been in a position to control not only access to these positions but also access to the institutions which they dominated. Such control was exercised in a number of ways: by setting the terms and conditions of entrance such as ability to speak English or technical qualifications, by importing labour from outside the North to fill positions there, and so on.

The concept noted previously, of Indian-ness as identifying something different or alien, was associated with definitions of relative superiority and inferiority held by many members of the dominant group that the researcher encountered. This was indicated by the expressions of attitudes made by whites indicating that the Indian culture and way of life was somehow inferior to that of the Euro-Canadian society and culture. These were usually expressed in terms such as: "the Indian culture and the Indians are redundant in the modern, industrial northern society", or more simply; "the Indians are getting in the way of northern development". The individuals who made both statements, were not only connected with economic exploitation of the North, but also subscribed to the widely held view that the Indian people ought not to have the special status that they had but rather should be forced to "get into the real world". These attitudes were rather commonly found among the resource exploitation oriented personnel in both private and government sectors.

A major factor which affected the overall situation and the operation of the barriers in it was the fact that most decision making and power positions were external to the Indian society, if not external to the North as a whole. This was particularly noticeable in the education system in the North, controlled as it was by whites and having a curriculum geared primarily to the non-Indian society. The control thus exercised over curriculum and changes in the education system directly affected the participation of Indian people in it, and indirectly affected their ability to participate, if they so desired, in the economic structures of the larger society. An educational system which many informants felt operated this way was also felt to perpetuate definitions of low Indian interest in education and lack of success.

The negative aspects of this state of affairs were most clearly seen in the disparities between Indians and whites in occupation and income distribution, and in the positions available for Indians within the economic structure. The economic system as a whole had made little effort to integrate the available Indian population into the basic labour force, let alone higher echelon positions. It was, in the words of one employer, "easier to provide assistance to the Indians in some form of welfare than to expand or provide the facilities necessary to train them".

The relationship between education and economics was particularly evident in that a person, who desired economic mobility through occupational channels, had to spend considerable time in an education system dominated by whites, learning material related to a culture in many ways dissimilar to his own. This involved extended absences from family and community at most levels of the education system. If the person attempted higher education or specialized training outside the North, the distances were greater and the contact with the Euro-Canadian culture more intense. Of those Indian people from Rae that the researcher met, only two had completed high school, although a number had obtained some specialized training in the south or at the educational facilities in Fort Smith. The latter reported no overt discrimination but did refer to the difficulties that they had encountered in adapting to virtual immersion in a different cultural milieu far from home.

The impact of the education system and the problems mentioned has had a direct effect on the distribution of Indian people in the socio-economic and occupational spectra in the research area. (See Appendix B) These differences were noted in a number of situations in both Fort Rae and Yellowknife. In the restaurants of Yellowknife, for example, Indians were observed working in the kitchens and in some custodial positions while of those dealing with the public, waitresses etc., all but one that the researcher saw were white. A very similar distribution was also noted in the bars and hotels; Indians, where employed, were in the lower level or menial positions. In the stores and business concerns in Yellowknife, the observer noted only two non-white sales people during the two field trips. In Fort Rae, almost all of the sales persons in the two stores were Indian, a difference that was felt to be directly related to the populations primarily served by these facilities as well as the relative distribution of population.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there were no Indian teachers in the schools of the area at the time of the research. A system involving the training of Indian people as "teacher's aides" had been attempted but the status of the program was rather uncertain at the time. The Indian pupil was thus faced with the situation of an educational system oriented to another culture, in which he was taught by the representatives of that culture who in many cases, it was reported, had little knowledge or interest in the Indian culture. The researcher was informed that in Fort Rae, the teachers by and large tended to keep aloof from the Indian population, interacting with the small white community there. There were notable exceptions to this, individuals who took an active part in the community as a whole and who were accordingly much more respected by the Indian population.

The researcher noted, in his own situation and in the cases of a number of other individuals, that white persons who were working with Indians or who had Indian friends often were subject to a degree of censure from other non-Indians. To some extent, social sanctions were imposed upon those who did not respect the informal barriers. The researcher noted this particularly in the type of service he received in restaurants and bars depending on whether or not he was with Indian friends or informants. These and other types of personal sanction and comment - "Oh you're the guy living with the Indians on the Island" - were attempts to reinforce the barriers and bring the deviant into line. These barriers were felt much more strongly by the Indian people who often received, as the researcher observed and as he was told by Indian informants, inferior service in the various facilities of Yellowknife. There was one bar for example that Indians had virtually stopped patronizing at that time because of higher prices and what was considered to be discriminatory treatment. When asked why the prices were higher than in the other bars in Yellowknife, an employee told the researcher that: "we want to make sure we get only the right sort of people in here".

The barriers in operation, although not formally defined, effectively limited the degree and extent of Indian participation and influence in the larger white society and its institutions, even as they directly affected them. In the northern situation, the main dilemma emerged from the divergence between formalized statements of equality of opportunity etc., and the actual attitudes and practices which were found. An underlying, but prevalent, assumption of the part of many dominant group members was that Indian equality, mobility and participation were possible, but only if there was rather complete acculturation and assimilation.

Conflict

As has been indicated, conflict between Indians and non-Indians was very much a growing part of the situation in the research area, especially in those areas of inter-group relations involving hierarchies of wealth and power. Conflicts emerged into the open when attempts were made by members of the subordinate group, or by the group as a whole, to improve their position in these hierarchies. The degree and extent of such conflicts in the situation were determined, by and large, by self-interest on the part of members of the dominant group in maintaining their dominant and privileged positions in the North and in northern development and exploitation.

Conflict, or potential conflict, as they were observed in this research, were enhanced by the emergence of a new collective awareness on the part of the subordinate group *vis-a-vis* the dominant group. Associated with this was a growing awareness, on the part of significant members of the subordinate group, of some of the unfair and exploitative aspects of the relationships between the groups and a desire for change in this situation. This was most often expressed in terms which implied an awareness of the relative powerlessness of Indian people in the area to influence decisions which directly affected their lives and future. Conflict, or the potential for conflict, increased with the decline of acquiescence and resignation and the corresponding demands for change. The increasing knowledge of the Indian people of the realities of their situation was enhanced by continued and intense exposure to the dominant group and its institutions, especially the educational and economic institutions. During the course of the research, a number of specific areas of conflict or potential conflict were observed and are discussed briefly below.

The first major area of conflict that was noted in the research area stemmed directly from culture change, and the pressures for such change experienced by the Indian people. The contacts between peoples in this area have been between the representatives of an industrial, modern society and those of a non-industrial and relatively traditionally oriented society. As was illustrated earlier, this did not pose a great problem during the early fur trade stages of contact, but it has become much more of a problem as contact has become more continuous and intense during this century. The major facets of culture conflict were centred directly around the pressures for change and assimilation which have been exerted both overtly and covertly by the dominant society. With the increasing pervasiveness of non-Indian control and power in the North, these pressures were felt more strongly, and were less easy to resist by the Indian population.

In the area of language, for example, the Indian people have been "encouraged" to abandon their own language and to learn and use English. This was done in part through the direct programs of the education system and in part through the prerequisites set for employment in the larger society. The increasing obsolescence of Indian skills with respect to northern development has also contributed to conflict of this nature. Many informants felt that a way of life, once compatible with the purposes of the larger society and mutually beneficial, was becoming more difficult to maintain in the North. Exposure to the larger society has brought pressures, as noted previously, which have directly influenced the traditional Indian family structure. Where these and other pressures for change have been resisted, conflict has become an inevitable part of the situation.

Many informants made reference to these aspects of conflict which had occurred as a result of assimilative and acculturative pressures, often noting that the two cultures were not very compatible and regretting the gradual passing of the Indian way of life. Older people remembered their childhood with a great deal of nostalgia, while many younger people expressed a desire to return to a way of life that they had only heard about but which seemed to be preferable to their own position. This sense of culture loss, which was observed as being felt by many of the Indian people, seemed to involve on their part a perception of a loss of Indian-ness, a loss of identity. The older people tended to express these sentiments in terms of "the evils of the white man's ways" and the negative effects of the white society upon the Indian people. They referred on many occasions to aspects of the material culture, such as readily available alcohol, as being particularly disruptive of traditional Indian values. While, as will be noted later, there was a recognition by many Indian people of all ages that some change was inevitable, it was resisted where possible and with the resistance came conflict.

It seemed to the researcher that many Indian people felt that in order to maintain a strong self-identity or self-concept, they must preserve major aspects of their culture. This they recognized was difficult in the face of the almost overwhelming influence and domination of the non-Indian society in the North. Nevertheless, there was a fairly general agreement that steps should be taken to preserve at least some of the traditional culture and way of life. It was noted, however, that in some instances the degree to which these sentiments were expressed depended upon the orientation of the individual toward inter-group mobility, or the degree to which such attempted mobility had been either achieved or unsuccessful.

Another important area of conflict which was observed involved the growing disputes over the treaty and aboriginal rights, an area which many felt directly affected the existence of Indians as Indians. While these matters may not have been of a great interest or significance in the past, the continuing expansion of development and exploitation in the North, coupled with growing knowledge of its wealth potential, has increased the anxiety of the Indian people. The dispute between the oral and written versions of the treaty, as discussed previously, was seen in large measure as representing this conflict, although not all of the Indian people saw it in these terms. What many felt, however, was that there was growing prosperity in the North resulting from exploitation of "Indian land", and that little of this was being made available to the Indian population. Differences in housing, incomes, standard of living, and so on, between whites and Indians, were increasingly noticeable and were, in the eyes of many Indian people, symbolic of this issue. Demands were being increasingly made by Indian people, publicly and privately, for a settlement of the Indian land claims and for a share of the wealth derived from the land.

While conflict, as described above, was an aspect of the situation, other issues related to the land and land use in the North were also noted, although on a more specific scale. These were for the most part related to the fact that many of the Indian people still gained a portion of their sustenance directly from hunting and fishing. Rules and regulations with respect to such activity were felt to be an intrusion on their rights, as well as pressures which forced them more and more into the non-Indian society. As one older man pointed out to the researcher:

> The caribou are harder to get now, commercial fishing means we don't get so many fish now, and the game laws mean that we can only hunt at certain times of the year. How are we supposed to live with all these changes? We don't want to go on welfare, which isn't much anyway.

An example of this conflict was the proposal for the establishment of a National Park at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake, near the community of Snowdrift, and the opposition of the Indian people. The creation of such a park and the enforcement of park regulations would have effectively cut off a considerable number of people from their traditional hunting grounds. The researcher, who was present at a meeting of chiefs and younger Indian leaders at which this issue was discussed, noted unanimous opposition to any such plan, unless there was adequate provision for the Indian people to maintain their way of life.

Further conflict was noted, on a large and rather intensive scale, at the institutional level in the research area. This involved the pressures for change that were being placed upon the traditional band structures by the policies of government agencies. As has been noted, the government agencies and the band authorities were felt to be competing rather directly for power and control of decisions which affected the Indian people. The basic question concerned who knew what was best for the Indian people in terms of band administration and community development. The Indian people by and large felt that the traditional band structures were better for them to the extent that the whites in predominantly Indian communities like Fort Rae were excluded from formal leadership positions, although they exercised considerable influence and control in the community. The government officials, on the other hand, seemed to feel that without "proper and adequate guidance" the Indian communities would remain "static" and a "continual burden to the rest of the society".

SUMMARY

The Yellowknife - Fort Rae research area, encompassing as it did two very different community types which were nonetheless linked, provided a very complex situation of Indian-white relations. These community linkages were important, and were found at two levels, the dominant-institutional and the subordinate-personal. The former refers to the presence in Rae of representatives of larger institutions in Yellowknife but often, even then, controlled externally to the North. These were the teachers, the R.C.M.P. personnel, the priests, and so on, all occupying influential positions in the community. The latter refers to connections between people in Rae and friends or relatives living in Yellowknife for one reason or another, often because of a perception of a "better" way of life.[42] Easier access to Yellowknife, which was representative in the area of the Euro-Canadian society and culture, because of improved transportation, also contributed to these linkages.

Historically, the processes of contact between whites and Indians in the North have led to many changes in the Indian way of life: in material culture, in economic organization, in values and in orientations. The situation in the North differs from contact situations in the south in one major respect however. The Dogribs and most other northern Indians were essentially still involved in the fur trade economy until the late 1940's and early 1950's. The post-war economic expansion into the North was a massive change from the fur trade to sophisticated technology and modern industrial society. Not having had time to adapt or even react to these changes, most Indians were pushed even further to the fringes of economic life. Indians had neither been prepared for these changes nor had they anticipated them. As King points out with respect to similar occurrences in the Yukon:

> But as the growth of Whiteman population accelerated, the pervading sentiment of Whiteman society as a whole was that of unawareness of the Indians rather than anything else and the new society's purposes tended to extend beyond the Indians' conceptual range.[43]

It was not until the late 1960's, as will be discussed later, that significant adaptations to these developments began to be made by Indians in the research area.

From first contact, whites occupied the dominant position in the Indian-white relationship, especially in terms of control of wealth. This relationship may have been, in some ways, mutually beneficial in the early stages. It resulted, however, in a continuing exploitation of natural resources and Indian people for economic profit, ultimately leading to the point where the Indians were almost redundant to the intruding economic enterprises. In the early stages, there was relatively little social difference between the Indians and the few permanent or semi-permanent whites, the traders, missionaries, etc. Contrasted with these former conditions, the current community in the North exhibits clearly marked differentiation between the two groups, as was observed in both Rae and Yellowknife. This has led in both communities to a widening gap between the Indian and white populations, related to "marked disparities in social, economic and cultural standards of living", as Fried expressed it.[44]

The separation and lack of informal contact between whites and Indians, that was noted in both Rae and Yellowknife, closely parallels the situation that Honigmann and Honigmann found in Inuvik.

> The two populations' physical separation, different cultural backgrounds, and diverse roles in town made it difficult for them to interact, the paths of natives and non-natives crossing mainly in formal situations like jobs, school, church, and the hospital.[45]

The preponderant dominant-subordinate relationships between whites and Indians were especially noticeable in these "formal situations"; in the political, economic and educational institutions and their respective hierarchies.

These changes in Indian-white relations were accompanied by a continuous expansion of the white populations' economic, political and social power in the area. Those in immediate power and decision-making positions were in most cases the representatives of larger externally centred institutions,[46] and as such, although they exercised considerable power in the immediate situation, they were more resistant to change in basic areas. As these representatives of the dominant society, and branches of the institutions they represented expanded their general influence and control in the North, the dominant-subordinate relationships became more entrenched. Power, especially economic power in this case, was clearly seen to be the basis for the rationalization and legitimation of maintenance and further extension of control by the dominant group.

Indians, although generally excluded from extensive participation in these developments and their profits, were nevertheless subjected to extensive and expanding acculturative pressures as a result. A consequence of this, that King also noted in the Yukon,[47] was an identification of many Indians with aspects of the dominant society and attempted mobility into it. In the Yellowknife-Fort Rae area, however, such attempted mobility was often found to be thwarted by what King referred to as "all but impenetrable barriers".[48] Penetration of these barriers depended almost totally on the dominant group which had introduced them to the situation and which maintained them.

In examining the barriers and contributing factors, the cultural differences between Indians and whites and isolation were both found to be important. However, education and the education system in general, and stereotypical prejudice also made significant contributions to the functioning of the barriers. With respect to education the researcher found, as did Hobart and Brant in their examination of similar Eskimo education in the Arctic,[49] southern-oriented curriculum, emphasis on English, inadequate teachers and inhospitable residential schools. Such a system contributed to the acculturative process but at the same time was inadequate to equip those who desired mobility with the necessary prerequisite skills without almost completely alienating the individual from his culture. Stereotypes and prejudice were important and often self-perpetuating aspects of the situation, in education, in general economics, and so forth. King[50] identified stereotypes in the Yukon similar to those found in the Yellowknife-Fort Rae area; Indians were "uneducated" and "undependable". The results were the same in both cases;

Indians were not offered jobs or job training because of them, action which perpetuated the stereotypes.

The general situation in the Yellowknife-Fort Rae area then was characterized by almost overwhelming dominant-subordinate relationships. This was evident in the hierarchies of political power, wealth, social life and so on. However, as the conflicts briefly mentioned indicated, there was also evident a quickly growing awareness of the realities of the situation and demands for change. Several of the major consequences of this situation and particularly these latter developments will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI- FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1 No accurate population figures are available for the time of the research. The estimates mentioned here are based on information received from local officials and the 1966 census figures.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1966 Census of Canada, Vol. 1 (1-7).

2 "Honey Bucket" is a term applied to a can, usually of four or five gallon capacity, which is lined with a plastic garbage bag, and when provided with a seat, often of two-by-fours, is used as a toilet. When full, the bag is tied and removed, and a new one placed inside.

3 This estimate is based on a 1966 population of 779, an increase from 522 in 1961 (D.B.S. Bulletin S-3, August, 1968), and on reports from administrative personnel in the area.

4 "And His Majesty the King hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for each band, the same not to exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families".

Treaty No. 11 and Adhesion, with Reports, etc., Reprinted from the edition of 1926, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 6.

5 For a detailed examination of these possibilities, see:

Anders, G., and J. Morissett, Rae - Lac La Martre, An Area Economic Survey, Industrial Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969.

6 It was felt in Rae that the shortage of whitefish was in large measure due to the commercial fishing on Great Slave Lake. Many people also remembered the time when the caribou herds passed close to Rae in their migration patterns. Now, it is necessary to travel a considerable distance to the herd, a fact which creates additional expenses for the people.

7 Fried, J., "White Dominant Settlements in the Canadian Northwest Territories", Anthropologica, N.S. Vol. 5, #1, (1963), p. 57.

8 Finnie, R., "Dogrib Treaty", Natural History, Vol. 46, #1, (June, 1940), pp. 52-58.

This article is a descriptive account of treaty time and fur trading at Fort Rae.

9 Dunning, R.W., "Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa", op. cit., p. 163.

10 Helm, J., and D. Damas, op. cit., p. 13 and p. 19.

11 Oswalt, W.H., and J.W. Vanstone, "Partially Acculturated Communities: Canadian Athapaskans and West Alaskan Eskimos", Anthropologica, N.S. Vol. 5, #1, (1963), p. 27.

12 Dunning, R.W., "Some Problems of Reserve Indian Communities: A Case Study", Anthropologica, N.S. Vol. 6, #1, (1964), pp. 3-4.

13 Helm, J., "Changes in Indian Communities", op. cit., p. 109.

14 Usher, P.J., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 17.

15 Usher, P.J., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 19.

16 Fried, J., op. cit., p. 61.

17 See Diagram II.

18 Slobodin, R., Metis of the Mackenzie District, Ottawa Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University, 1966, p. 6.

19 For a detailed discussion of early development in this area, see:

Rae, G.R., op. cit., especially chapter VII.

20 Ibid., pp. 198-199.

21 Anders, G., and J. Morissett, op. cit., p. 51.

22 Jenness, D., The Indians of Canada, op. cit., pp. 392-393.

23 Rae, G.R., op. cit., pp. 199-203.

24 Finnie, R., op. cit., pp. 52-58.

25 Rae, G.R., op. cit., p. 203.

26 Report on the Territory Covered by Treaty No. 8, and the District North of Fort Simpson Along the Valley of the Mackenzie R., Section A, p. 35, November, 1913.

27 Ibid., Section B, pp. 22-23.

28 Ibid., Section B, p. 23.

29 Ibid., Section A, p. 4.

30 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

31 Ibid., p. 5.

32 Helm, J., and D. Damas, op. cit., p. 18.

33 Anders, G., and J. Morissett, op. cit., p. 46.

34 Hawthorn, H.B., Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 248-249.

35 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969.

36 Ibid., p. 5.

37 Treaty No. 11, op. cit., p. 6.

38 See:

Ibid., pp. 6-7.

39 Ibid., p. 6.

40 Ibid., p. 3.

41 The three quotations following are taken from transcribed and translated interviews conducted by Indian C.Y.C. workers who were friends of the researcher and which were kindly made available to the researcher.

42 The reasons for moving from "bush" settlements to "white centred" towns that Helm notes: "increasing job opportunities and the lure of various Euro-Canadian comforts and services", were very important in such movements.

Helm, J., op. cit., p. 106.

43 King, A.R., op. cit., p. 8.

44 Fried, J., op. cit., p. 65.

Fried identified such disparities between three groups; "Civil servant and government sponsored personnel... a non-government northern white population... a spectrum of natives in various stages of acculturation".

45 Honigmann, J.J., and I. Honigmann, Arctic Townsmen; Ethnic Backgrounds and Modernization, Ottawa, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University, 1970, p. 62.

46 This is noted by both:

Balikci, A.R., and R. Cohen, op. cit., p. 41, and

Dunning, R.W., "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada", Human Organization, Vol. 18, #3, (Fall, 1959), p. 117.

47 King, A.R., op. cit., p. 1.

48 Ibid.

49 Hobart, C.W., and C.S. Brant, "Eskimo Education, Danish and Canadian: A Comparison", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 3, #2, (May, 1966), pp. 57-63.

50 King, A.R., op. cit., p. 9.

CHAPTER VII

CONSEQUENCES OF THE INDIAN-WHITE SITUATION IN THE YELLOWKNIFE - FORT RAE AREA

INTRODUCTION

The second research question was: what are the consequences of the development of Indian-white relations, and their particular aspects, as found in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area, with particular reference to the institutional and inter-group relationships? In the previous chapter, a number of major aspects of Indian-white relations have been discussed in some detail, along with their historical derivation. The assumption that the Indian peoples would eventually assimilate into the dominant society, or indeed must assimilate, was noted as being held by many whites in the North. However, in considering the second research question, it was necessary to examine the subordinate group's attitudes and responses toward such assumptions: did they in fact seek such assimilation or acquiesce to the assimilative pressures? This was important in that variations in the goals or desires of the subordinate group could have a threefold effect: on the situation as a whole; on the actions of the dominant group; and on the activities of the subordinate group.

A number of strong pressures toward acculturation and assimilation were noted both in the inter-group situation as the researcher observed it and participated in it, and in the historical antecedents of this situation. These involved both deliberate and conscious efforts on the part of representatives of the dominant group, as well as the unintended and unconscious results of culture contact. With the increasing intensity of the contact between Indians and non-Indians in the North, these pressures of both types have become stronger and more pervasive.

Three broad and somewhat overlapping types of individuals were found among the members of the subordinate group when the results of these acculturative and assimilative pressures were examined. First; there were those who had responded positively to these pressures and who were actively seeking entrance to, and mobility in, the larger dominant society. Second; there were those who sought a return to the "old ways" and who wished to have as little contact as possible with the dominant group. On the continuum between these two extremes there was a third much larger group which was either somewhat ambivalent about relations with the dominant group or had recognized the realities of their situation and wished to basically redefine their relations with the dominant group. The leadership for the innovative responses to the situation that will be discussed stemmed from this latter group. Both of the first two groups were quite small, few of the Indian people having become fully integrated into the dominant society and few wishing to be so integrated, and few having any desire or capability to remain totally beyond its influence.

In the examination of facets of the situation relating to the second research question two subsidiary questions were raised. Each of these posed a two-fold problem related to the inter-group relations in the research area. First: if the Indian people wanted entrance to the dominant society, under what conditions and to what extent? On the other hand, to what extent was it possible for the Indian people to formulate alternatives that did not require full entrance to the dominant society? Second: how did the conditions for entrance set by the dominant group influence the position taken by the Indian people with respect to the larger society? On the other hand, what alternatives existed for those who did not tend toward one of the two extremes mentioned above?

Thus within the context of a situation which possessed the characteristics described previously, the question of Indian-white relationships was explored with respect to the responses or potential alternatives of the Indian people in the situation. Special attention was paid to the interrelationships between the groups and changes in these relationships, as exhibited by innovative institutional developments in the area.

INDIAN RESPONSES TO SUBORDINATION AND ACCULTURATIVE PRESSURES

Although there were a number of variations, depending on individual circumstances, four general responses or attempted responses of the Indian people in the situation were observed. These may be identified as: acculturation and intended assimilation; retreat with desired separation; acquiescence; and institutional innovation. Each of these types will be discussed below, although the greatest attention will be paid to the last, as this was at once the most noticeable and, according to observations and informants, the most important with respect to inducing changes in the inter-group relationships.

Acculturation and Intended Assimilation

This type of response was the least frequently noted during the research because of the nature of the two processes involved; acculturation and assimilation. Those who fell into this category were the persons who were attempting to move into the economic and occupational mainstream of the dominant group, and the correlated social sphere. Typically, these individuals had been acculturated to a far greater degree than other Indians in the area, and had generally actively pursued the goal of assimilation. With respect to acculturation this meant that there had been an acceptance, and usually an internalization, of the goals and values of the non-Indian society. Intended assimilation into the non-Indian society was seen especially in the life style adopted and in the conscious effort made to conform to the demands and expectations of the larger society. With respect to culture, most of these individuals identified with the non-Indian society, rather than with the Indian culture. Several individuals, for example, told the researcher that they did not want to be identified as Indians but as un-hyphenated Canadians. They spoke only English, held permanent jobs, lived in the non-Indian section of Yellowknife and, kept themselves completely separated from Indian activities and band connections.

This identification with the larger society, and the overt and conscious rejection of the Indian culture and way of life, was illustrated by a young man who told the researcher that:

> The Indian way of life is gone now for most of the people. The only way that I can get what I want is to leave it completely and become a part of the outside society. I don't think that I can be a part of both worlds and although I know that many people think of me as an Indian first, this is not what I want for myself or for my children. I think that each person should make his life on his own.

Along with others in similar positions, this individual was certainly conscious of being an Indian in a non-Indian milieu but was trying to overcome the negative aspects of this by conforming to the demands of the dominant society in all aspects of life.

This was a very individualistic response to the situation in the sense that it involved a deliberate effort on the part of one person to move into the larger society, often in spite of opposition from others, both Indian and white. In the cases that were noted, the individuals concerned had almost no contact with other Indians except for members of their immediate family. Since all of these persons lived in Yellowknife, these contacts were usually limited to the occasional visits made to Yellowknife by relatives from Fort Rae or other communities.

Difficulties were often encountered by those in this category who were, as one informant put it, "trying to become white". One source of strain emerged from the demands made by relatives for financial assistance in accordance with the customary expectations of sharing. For example, one informant was refused financial assistance by a sibling who was attempting this response, although several previous requests had been met. The informant, in relating this story to the researcher, made several disparaging comments about the sibling indicating that the individual had become "too much like a white man". The sibling in question later told the researcher that it was difficult to live in the desired manner, and the "right" manner, in Yellowknife given these continual requests for money.

A second difficulty encountered by persons attempting this type of response involved the degree of rejection that they often received from other Indians. Sentiments expressing this rejection came most strongly from the younger and more consciously Indian persons and were directed most strongly toward those employed by the government. On a number of occasions, the researcher noted that simple conversational overtures were rejected rather bluntly; the individual being told to "get back to work" or "your boss is looking for you". On one occasion, a young man was studiously ignored until he left the restaurant where the researcher and several informants were sitting. When asked about the incident, he said that: "even many of my old friends are acting like that since I started work".

Work within the institutions of the dominant society was regarded in this negative light only when there was an apparent rejection of the Indian way of life in favor of the white society. Those persons working in "blue collar" rather than "white collar" jobs seemed to encounter less rejection although their goals, for themselves and their families were identical. Over a period of several weeks the researcher observed a government highways work crew consisting of both whites and Indians taking a coffee break in a restaurant in Yellowknife and noted considerable differences in behaviour and attitude among the latter. Two younger Indians always sat by themselves or with several non-working Indians while a middle-aged Indian crew member always ate with the non-Indians. In conversations, the former said that they saw the job as only temporary and a way to make some money before the fall hunt. The latter individual, a skilled machinery operator with nine or ten years employment with the government, said that he wanted no part of the Indian activities and wanted to bring up his children to take an active part in the larger society. He enjoyed his work and seemed to be totally accepted by the non-Indian co-workers. This, and the fact that his social contacts were almost entirely with non-Indians, by self report, set him noticeably apart from the other Indians on the work crew and in the community. The degree of rejection in this and several similar cases was predicated upon the degree to which an individual had abandoned his Indian-ness, the norms and values of the Indian culture in particular, and had adopted the cultural values and life style of the non-Indian society.

The third major difficulty involved with this type of attempted response was the barriers that existed between the white and Indian groups in both the social and occupational arenas. Individuals who were making this type of response to the situation were in a more difficult position than others if they encountered serious barriers to their mobility aspirations. This was especially true when the barriers involved formal educational requirements for advancement, or the previously noted stereotypes of Indians and their abilities. Since they had made a serious personal commitment to their attempt at mobility, the barriers that were often encountered were keenly felt and their effects were much more noticeable.

The researcher, for example, became acquainted with an individual who had been working for some time with an exploration company. He had started in a field position but, having a grade eleven education and an aptitude for the work, was promoted to an office job. One day he mentioned that he had been removed from this position, although he had been offered his old job back. The researcher inquired further. As he explained the situation, he had been "replaced by a white guy from the south with papers" and he didn't feel that he could return to the old job which he saw as a demotion. He was somewhat bitter about this and the last time the researcher spoke to him, he was still looking for "suitable" employment in Yellowknife.

Of the more than two hundred Indians contacted by the researcher in the Yellowknife - Rae area, only eight were met who were actually seriously making this type of response and attempt at mobility. Other informants indicated that they knew of other individuals in similar positions but the researcher was unable to contact them personally. Based upon actual contacts and information supplied by informants, an estimated five to seven percent of the Indian population was attempting assimilation in this way. Many other full or part-time employees in non-Indian institutions could not be so regarded in that they expressed primary allegiance to the Indian society; divorcing for the most part their work and work-related contacts from the rest of their lives.

Retreat to Intended Separation

While very few persons could be included in this category, and while they were somewhat lacking in influence, this was an interesting group because of its varied constituents. Two factions of the Indian population were represented in this category; all of the individuals concerned living in Fort Rae. Of those persons who strongly expressed a preference for this type of response, seven were older people (identified as being over sixty) and five were in their late teens or early twenties. On the basis of information provided by other informants, the number of older people expressing this response was somewhat larger, although these additional persons were not contacted personally by the researcher. Many others expressed similar attitudes from time to time, but only those who consistently and strongly did so have been included in this category.

The older people seemed to be responding to the incursions of the non-Indian society and the negative influences and changes in the way of life that, in their opinion, had resulted. Those that the researcher came to know continually pointed out the benefits of their former way of life, particularly the values associated with a close relationship with nature. They said that they considered the whites responsible for many of the problems being faced by the Indian people. Specifically, they most often referred to things such as alcohol consumption and related problems, "laziness", and what they saw as a very unfortunate growing dependency among Indian people on "government handouts". Indicative of the attitudes of persons in this category was the comment that "Indians can be Indians again" if they could remove themselves from the influences of the white society and re-affirm more important traditional values. The older people, perhaps more than the younger individuals, recognized the difficulty of "turning back the clock", and expressed their feelings by minimizing contact with whites and by trying to resist non-Indian influences in their community and in their families.

All of the younger people that the researcher met who openly and strongly expressed these retreatest sentiments had at one time or another experienced particularly traumatic rebuffs when some intergroup mobility had been attempted. Most had had some high school education and had encountered the barriers in the occupational field. Associated with this was an expressed feeling of rejection in social relationships with non-Indians. Some had lost jobs and some had not been able to find employment but all expressed bitterness toward the non-Indian society, and even some resentment toward other Indians who were moving into the larger society. They minimized contacts with non-Indians and were the strongest proponents of Indian isolation from the white society and a return to the "traditional" way of life. Although not totally isolated from various influences of the non-

Indian society, they were active in attempting to keep these minimal in Fort Rae. For example, they were among the strong supporters of the movement to exclude liquor outlets from Fort Rae.

The older people, who had personal experience of life in the North fifty, sixty or even seventy years ago, spoke of the hardships as well as the positive aspects of the "traditional" life. In contrast, the younger people tended to glorify the past and saw a separation of Indians and whites as the means to a happier and freer existence. All of the individuals that the researcher spoke with recognized that such separation would entail considerable difficulties. When questioned further, it became apparent that what was desired was a separation from the influence of the cultural values of the larger society. The material aspects of culture were rejected less strongly except insofar as they directly influenced values. In one conversation with a number of young people, for example, several expressed a strong desire to return to a more traditional way of life, or "bush living". When further discussion revealed that this included the use of such things as canvas tents, rifles, steel traps, etc., the distinction between value and material components of culture was clearly brought out in this regard.

Acquiescence

This term has been used to refer to those Indians, a majority in the research area, who were not overtly active, who basically accepted their situation, and who were attempting to live as best they could within it. Typically rather conservative in outlook, their main orientation was toward family, kinsmen, and community, rather than relations with the external society. Almost all, whether living in Rae or Yellowknife, engaged in some combination of hunting, trapping or fishing for basic sustenance. In Rae, for example, the fish nets were checked at least once a day in the summer months for food, each man or family having their own location in the shallow lake. Those in this category were rather resistant to sudden change, whether introduced by Indians or by non-Indians, having to be convinced that such changes were indeed for the better. During the formative period of the Indian Brotherhood, the researcher attended several meetings, the main purpose of which was for the Brotherhood leaders to explain the benefits of the organization to this group. Likewise, with the new school, once convinced of its benefits, people in this category tended to give it considerable grass roots support.

During the two field trips, the researcher noted a gradual shift in the orientation of many in this category, some to the assimilationist response, and others to more overt support, at least verbal, of the institutional innovation response. The shifting orientations of these persons were particularly noticeable when they referred to their children and the perception they had of their life chances. Few had had the type of educational opportunities that were becoming available and many expressed the hope that, by utilizing them, their children would be able to be mobile in an occupational sense. When this was mentioned, there was usually some reference to the increasing difficulty of living off the land, hunting, trapping or fishing for a livelihood. Some individuals expressed the hope that their children could take advantage of their opportunities and return to the community to help others, although they also recognized that many would not be able to or would want to. While some were orienting their children to assimilation, the greater majority felt that the institutional innovation responses with respect to education and the Brotherhood were preferable in that they offered benefits to the Indian people without necessitating assimilation and loss of identity.

Institutional Innovation

The generalized type of response which has been characterized as one of institutional innovation was, in the context of this research, the most important type observed and will accordingly be discussed in some detail. While the numbers of persons who were directly involved in the innovative institutions was relatively small, the researcher observed considerable growing awareness and support for these organizations among the other segments of the Indian population. This type of response was particularly important in that it represented the emergence from the years of irrelevance in the North, and a major departure from the long-standing response of acquiescence of the Indian people to the dominant society.

Institutional innovation, as the term has been used here, refers to the creation and elaboration of institutional structures which were different from the traditional Indian band structures and, at the same time, from the institutional structures of the dominant society. These appeared to have emerged in this area because of continuing white domination and a perception on the part of some younger people that the traditional structures alone were unable to effectively cope with the institutionally based power structures of the white society. There was a growing awareness on the part of these people that the Indian people were being exploited, left behind, or ignored with respect to the decision-making processes which affected their lives, particularly those involving development of the North. Therefore, this general response represented an attempt to rectify this by the creation of alternative structures with the knowledge, resources and power base necessary to act for the Indian population as a whole.

These emergent structures were found to contrast with the traditional Indian structures in a number of major ways. First; with respect to leadership functions, the active and motivating individuals involved were almost without exception younger persons. They differed from the traditional band leadership in that all spoke English and most had had considerable exposure to the educational system of the larger society. While the support, at least tacit, of the traditional leadership element was necessary for the implementation of their programs, the essential power positions in the emerging organizations were all held by younger persons, who had had considerable experience in and with the dominant society. These qualities were, by and large, considered to be undesirable for leaders within the traditional band structures.

Secondly; these structures were unprecedented in the area in that they were involved in relationships, often involving conflict, with the dominant society on a regular basis. Indeed, many of the activities associated with them occurred in Yellowknife or even outside the Northwest Territories. Such interaction with the dominant group, by intention or by location, once would have been regarded with some degree of suspicion by the more traditionally oriented among the Indian people.

Thirdly; whereas the traditional band structures were concerned primarily with the affairs of a particular band, the new structures were oriented toward Indian interests in the Northwest Territories as a whole. Several instances were observed in which the traditional orientation in this respect clashed with the orientation of the new structures. However, all of these conflicts occurred during the formative stages of the new organizations, before an adequate working relationship had been established between the new leadership and the traditional authority structures. One such instance involved the question of commercial fishing; the younger leaders attempting to establish uniform guidelines and several chiefs quietly resisting this, feeling it to be a band decision.

The innovative nature of these emergent Indian structures, with respect to the institutions of the dominant white society, was clearly noticeable in a number of ways. For the most part they operated externally to, and often in conflict with, major segments of the dominant society. While not unique, the direct challenges that emerged to the long-established dominance of non-Indians in the North were certainly a new feature of Indian-white relations. The goals of these Indian organizations were oriented toward the improvement of the situation of Indian people in the North with particular emphasis upon cultural, economic and educational improvements. Again, while not unique, such goals often provided direct conflicts with the dominant institutions which had exploited and then generally ignored the Indian population in the course of their own development. These conflicts, or potential conflicts, between the new Indian organizations and the dominant society, aroused considerable negative opinion on the part of some non-Indians. While the traditional band structures had not been threatening, and as a result had been largely ignored, the new organizations, the Indian Brotherhood in particular, were quite often seen in this way.

These new innovative Indian organizations emerged in a situation with the historical and current characteristics previously described, primarily as a result of the inability of traditional band structures to deal effectively with the power of the institutions of the white society and the changes which were occurring in the North. This factor alone would not have been sufficient without a growing number of potential young leaders, a growing awareness of the realities of the situation, and the improved communications within the North and between the North and the rest of Canada.

During the course of the research it was noted that these innovative organizations had been established not only in response to a situation but also to achieve a number of goals. While the specifics of the goals varied somewhat, there was a general perception on the part of the participants in the organizations that they could be influential in improving the position of the Indian people in the overall situation. The differing nature of some of the goals reflected the differing perceptions on the part of individuals or groups as to what was meant by improvement. The researcher noted a gradually growing support for these organizations and their goals among the general Indian population which indicated that they were moving toward meeting many of the goals and solving some of the problems that were felt at the grass-roots level. This support also demonstrated the increasing ability of the organizational leaders to convince the grass-roots population that the innovations were necessary and beneficial.

Although the specifics will be discussed later, a brief discussion of the basic underlying purposes of the Indian organizations should be presented first. The first and perhaps the most obvious purpose of these organizations was to attempt to counter, in part at least, some of the effects of the white-dominated institutional power structures. These effects were becoming increasingly pervasive and many of the emergent leaders felt that the traditional structures, while adequate for immediate band needs, were unable to cope effectively with the powerful institutions of the dominant society. With organizations operating from a position of more consolidated strength, and with hired experts where necessary, they felt that they would be able to interact with the larger society and its institutions on a much more equitable basis. In operation this would provide for a much greater input from the Indian people into the decision making processes of the larger society and would result in increasing protection for the Indian people and their rights. All of this involved a realization on the part of the young leaders that, to a greater or lesser extent, the new organizations had to adopt or utilize organizational and technical skills similar to those of the dominant institutions in order to effectively gain power and influence. At the same time, there was a recognition of the necessity for the maintenance of Indian identity in this process or else, as one individual expressed the paradox:

> We will become just like another lobby or pressure group trying to institute change or influence the government decisions. We can learn how to do this from the white man but we must adapt this knowledge and use it within the context of our own culture.

A second purpose, although perhaps a less noticeable or openly stated one, was to facilitate the entrance of Indian people into the larger society in a positive manner. Skills and knowledge acquired in and through these organizations could be utilized to achieve mobility in the larger society, if this was the desire of the individual. Where this was an expressed or partial goal of the organization, as in the case of the school, the general intention was to provide the prerequisites for such mobility, but at the same time to allow and encourage individuals to retain a strong sense of Indian cultural identity. In operation it was hoped that such devices would allow individuals to surmount some of the barriers to mobility that existed in the North, particularly those involving education and formal education requirements.

A third general purpose was the unification of the Indian population of the North with respect to the larger white society, both in the North and in the rest of Canada. This involved the development and fostering of a sense of common identity based upon a recognition of Indian-ness, of common problems, and of similarities in the situation of all Indian peoples cutting across band or settlement identifications. Deliberate attempts were made to promote a pride in being Indian, as well as being a member of a particular band, as the emerging leaders paid attention to all bands and brought members of all bands together for periodic meetings and discussions.

A fourth purpose, directly related to the first, was the promotion and protection of Indian rights and the furtherance of Indian land and economic claims in the Northwest Territories. The researcher noted that there was an increasing demand on the part of the Indian people for rectification of the injustices of the past, and for protection against their continuation. This was related to an increasing general awareness of the overall situation brought about in large measure by the improved communication facilities in the North. Major areas of concern were aboriginal rights, treaty and land settlements, hunting and fishing rights, resource exploitation and so forth. An organization, or organizations which spoke for all Indians of the North could be much more effective in power struggles with dominant institutions over these issues, than could individuals or bands.

There were, then, two major assumptions made by the individuals who became involved in this type of response to the dominant-subordinate relationships, especially those actively involved in the particular organizations. The first was that the subordinate group could, by these means, more effectively develop its power base, more effectively counter the various pressures of the dominant group, and have a more significant, or even controlling, voice in the decision-making processes. If this were to be the case, then some of the major problems and inequities inherent in the situation could be, at least partially, overcome. Secondly, these organizations were considered to have the potential of providing a degree of cultural protection for the Indian people from the influences and pressures of the non-Indian society. By providing different foci of Indian interest and realistic alternatives for Indian people, some of the negative effects of the situation, particularly culture loss, could be minimized.

INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION: ORGANIZATIONAL RESPONSES

The Indian Brotherhood

The Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, the most significant and influential of the Indian-established innovative organizations, was formed in 1969. In that the time of the formation of the Indian Brotherhood coincided with the first field trip to the North, the researcher was in a relatively good position to observe major aspects of its development. In addition, because of the contacts with informants which continued during the interval between the field trips, the researcher was able to follow changes in the situation in the North and make comparisons at the time of the second field trip. During the course of the three phases of the research, the investigator came to know many of the Brotherhood personnel quite well and received considerable assistance from them.

The Indian Brotherhood, as it developed originally, drew rather heavily upon the experience, knowledge, and operation of two other organizations that had been operating in the Northwest Territories, and the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in particular, for some time: The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada and the Company of Young Canadians. The involvement of a number of young Indian people in and with these two organizations contributed greatly to the skills and knowledge that many subsequently brought with them to the Brotherhood. Each of these two institutions had, in its own way, encouraged the formation of the Brotherhood and, either directly or indirectly, contributed to its successful development. It is the opinion of the researcher and of many informants that the growing awareness, of both the realities of the overall situation and the possibilities of increasing the effectiveness of Indian protest activity, was in large measure the result of activities connected with these organizations. Of particular importance, for example, were the development of organizational skills, the realization of the need for effective communication networks between Indians in the North, and basic preliminary research conducted by both organizations into aspects of Treaty Number Eleven.

Since its inception, the Indian Brotherhood has actively pursued a number of objectives, although varying priorities have been given them from time to time. These objectives are, concisely stated:

> A To uphold the rights and interests of the Indian peoples of the Northwest Territories, in reference to their Treaties and otherwise;
>
> B To develop, discuss and promote policies for the Indian peoples of the Northwest Territories;
>
> C To conduct, foster and support programs and policies for the economic, social, educational and cultural benefit of the Indian peoples of the Northwest Territories;
>
> D To give voice to the opinions of the Indian peoples of the Northwest Territories;
>
> E To co-operate with other organizations of similar or friendly purpose.[1]

The Indian Brotherhood was constituted with a paid executive, elected by the chiefs of the eighteen major band settlements in the Northwest Territories who were considered to be an overseeing and advisory "board of directors". This board was to be the ultimate and legitimate authority for the Brotherhood with the power to dismiss executive personnel, a function that it did perform once. The composition of this governing board was revised in 1972 to include the president and vice-president of the elected executive and five chiefs elected on a regional basis; a change which gave the younger executive considerably more power in the organization. Although the members of the executive were all relatively young, the inclusion of the traditionally elected band chiefs as board members demonstrated a recognition of the importance of the traditional authority and influence that they represented, and allowed the younger and more active executive members to maintain close contact and harmony with the grass-roots Indian population. Members of the Brotherhood executive and staff personnel made, and continue to make, frequent visits to all of the band settlements in the Territories. In the early period of operation these visits were primarily for the purpose of gaining grass-roots support for the new organization and its intended programs. Once the Brotherhood became established, these visits were oriented toward information collection and dissemination, a practise made necessary by the great distances between the various settlements. The general aim of the Brotherhood in this respect has been to remain in relatively close contact with the entire Indian population and thus be responsive to their needs, as well as to explain the various operations of the Brotherhood as it worked for changes in the relationship of Indians with the dominant society and institutions.

At the time of the first field trip, when the organization of the Indian Brotherhood was in its formative stages, there were only a small number of individuals directly involved in its organization; nine in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area which was and continues to be the centre of Brotherhood activity. Five of these individuals had been previously connected with the Company of Young Canadians and all had had considerable exposure to the larger society, in one manner or another. All of them expressed a deep dissatisfaction with the economic, legal, social, political and educational domination of the Indian people in the North and saw the Brotherhood as a mechanism which could promote much-needed changes in the situation. During conversations with several of these individuals, sentiments such as the following were expressed which demonstrate this dissatisfaction.

> The white man has taken our land and gives us a little welfare to keep us quiet. We didn't give our land or rights away and we want them back.
>
> Our people are forgetting what it means to be Indian. We are losing our culture and our language and it is time to do something about it.
>
> We are treated like second class citizens in our own land and are going to change this.

However, one of the first difficulties that the Brotherhood had to overcome was breaking through the indifference or acquiescence of many of the Indian people; the result of generations of subordinate status and powerlessness. As one young man put it: "We are a conservative people generally and many are reluctant to accept the changes that the Brotherhood represents". This was attempted through series of public meetings in different settlements, and meetings with band councils, at which Brotherhood personnel explained their objectives. The researcher attended both types of meetings at Fort Rae and noted the above-mentioned resistance to change. Support, initially at least, was gained by the use of direct references to local problems and the ways in which the Brotherhood could assist the community.

Once under way, financial support for the Brotherhood was obtained from the Federal Government in the same way that other Indian organizations in the south were funded. During the early stages, and the first field trip, the Brotherhood had little money, no permanent office, and little in the way of staff personnel. Several continued to work for the Company of Young Canadians and most made personal contributions to expenses. Even during the early interim period between the field trips, the office and staff consisted of the living room of the apartment of the man who was then the president, and one secretary. By the time of the second field trip, the organization had expanded considerably and occupied a suite of offices in Yellowknife. In addition to the executive, the Brotherhood employed a full time staff of over twenty Indian people. At this time, the Brotherhood was also employing a non-Indian lawyer and several non-Indians engaged in developing a newspaper. The Indian employees were from several different communities, although the greatest number came from Yellowknife and Fort Rae. It was the intention of the organization to replace the white personnel when Indian people had been trained or could be otherwise hired.

All of the Indian personnel that the researcher talked to expressed a considerable degree of commitment to the activities of the

Brotherhood, although few saw themselves as working for it permanently. They felt that only through such Indian-controlled organizations could they gain redress for old grievances and better their position vis-a-vis the white society. Prominent among the Brotherhood's activities at this time were: the promotion of inter-band and inter-settlement communication through several conferences and gatherings; the establishing of communications and working relationships with other Indian organizations through visits and conferences; research connected with the treaty, aboriginal rights and land settlements in the North; asserting the right of the Brotherhood to deal directly with the Federal Government and opposing any Territorial Government jurisdiction over the Indians, as proposed in the "White Paper", the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969; and organizing Indian opposition to a northern oil pipeline until all land and treaty disputes were settled. The Brotherhood also assisted individual bands with problems such as land usage, housing and so forth, as well as working directly toward better Indian education, better housing, improved Indian health care, and problems such as unemployment and job discrimination.

For many, employment with the Brotherhood meant that they had an opportunity to use the education, skills or knowledge that they had in a way that could help their own people. For these individuals the primary concern was the immediate and specific problems, and the use of the growing power and influence of the Brotherhood to attain satisfactory solutions. While others, especially executive personnel, saw the immediate problems as being important, they directed more energy toward the more general goals, involving gaining access to power, unification of Indian peoples, and more basic and general economic and political subordination. While there was some internal dissension, this was primarily a matter of personality clashes which did not detract from the overall efforts of the Brotherhood.

In addition to the activities outlined above which were directly related to the general purposes of the Brotherhood, the operation of the Indian Brotherhood also provided several other types of opportunities or benefits for Indian people. First, [illegible] provided the opportunity for the employment of a number of Indian people in a more familiar and meaningful milieu than could have been found in the white society. Second, this employment and the type of work that was being done gave a measure of mobility and status to the persons involved with respect to both the Indian and non-Indian society. Third, it provided a channel through which further mobility could be achieved. The researcher knew one person, formerly employed by the Brotherhood, who had used the knowledge and contacts gained to fine other employment. Another individual told the researcher that he would quit as soon as he found a better job. Fourth, as was noted in several instances, it provided an opportunity for meaningful work for individuals who had experienced rejection or discrimination in the larger society. One individual, for example, told the researcher that he had come to work for the Brotherhood because he had been discriminated against in terms of promotion in the white organization that he had worked in. The Indian Brotherhood quite clearly held a position between the traditionally oriented Indian bands and the larger society, serving as both a protective institution and as a channel of mobility.

The role and position of the Brotherhood, and its growing influence, were reflected in the attitudes expressed toward it as noted during the second field trip. The researcher questioned both whites and Indians in this respect and found considerably varying opinions existing within and between each group. Most of the Indian people who were questioned felt that the Brotherhood was generally a "good thing" and that it should be supported. Favourable opinion was fairly evenly split on the question of the role of the Indian Brotherhood in the North. One group felt that the primary concern should be with the immediate problems and their solutions, while the other group saw the necessity of attacking the basic underlying economic and political causes of the dominant-subordinate relationship. This grass-roots difference was to some extent reflected in the operation of the Brotherhood which tried to keep a balance between the two. Quite a few from both groups essentially echoed the statement made by one young man from Fort Rae.

> The Brotherhood is showing government people that we can do things for ourselves and that we are going to fight for our rights. Meetings of the chiefs, like the one they just held here, are bringing the Indian people closer together.

However, apparently because of the location of the Brotherhood offices in Yellowknife and the problems of first-hand knowledge of what the Brotherhood was doing, some reservations were expressed by a few people in outlying communities. Suspicion was voiced on several occasions by people in Fort Rae that the "people in the Brotherhood", meaning those on the paid staff, were "in it for themselves". A small number of more traditionally oriented people, four to be exact, felt that the Brotherhood was 'rocking the boat' of Indian-white relationships, so to speak, and that new problems for the Indian people could emerge as a consequence.

While the visits made by Brotherhood officials to the various settlements were as frequent as possible, communications were nonetheless difficult, resulting in a communication gap in both directions with the above results in some instances. It was the opinion of the researcher and of many informants that the inception and operations of the Brotherhood had at that time little affected the daily lives of the majority of the Indian people or had little effect on their daily and immediate problems. In this respect, some comments were made to the effect that the members of the Brotherhood were sometimes forgetting their Indian background, "where they came from", in performing their duties. Although such opinions were expressed by only a few people, they were quite similar to attitudes held by many toward those Indians who were attempting complete assimilation.

These questions about the Brotherhood and its operation by the Indian people represented a divergence of opinion between those advocating or supporting change and more conservative elements resisting such changes. Although both groups recognized the need for cultural preservation and protection, they differed in their approaches to the problems involved. On the one hand, the Brotherhood was seen to be attempting to deal with various problems affecting the Indian people by attacking the social, economic and political root causes. This was, however, a relatively slow process, seldom fully understood, and without results that were immediately visible. On the other hand, there were demands for immediate solutions to specific problems which could be done generally only on an ad hoc basis. Given the concern with long range solutions, some informants saw the Brotherhood as ignoring these immediate problems. The Brotherhood officials were therefore caught between the necessity for long range inclusive programs and the demands for attention to specific and immediate problems. Several Brotherhood people expressed to the researcher their frustrations in trying to cope with these demands and the dilemmas that they posed.

One such dilemma, for example, was that posed by the differences between grass-roots and Brotherhood orientations toward the question of game regulations. Generally, at the community level restrictive regulations were seen as immediate and discrete problems which directly affected the individual and his livelihood. Although the Brotherhood officials recognized the immediate nature of the problem, to them it was part of the larger issue of Treaty, land, and aboriginal rights. Such immediate problems, they argues, were only symptomatic of the dominant-subordinate Indian-white relationships and their solution lay in changing the basic nature of the relationship, not only the symptoms.

In spite of this and similar differences, most of the Brotherhood officials were relatively optimistic that, given time and continued financial support, the Indian Brotherhood would become an effective force for the Indians of the Northwest Territories. As evidence of their success, they pointed to the steadily growing awareness of their operation and support of their programs at the grass-roots level, a phenomenon that the researcher noted to some extent in Fort Rae. As one official of the Brotherhood expressed it:

> We have only been in operation for a short time but we are getting much more support and cooperation from the older people now. The major thing that we have done up to now is to force the government to at least think a bit about the Indian people when they make decisions. We can generate a lot of publicity inside and outside the Territories and the government doesn't like this very much, so they are a little more aware of the Indian people than they were before.

The responses and attitudes of the white population toward the Indian Brotherhood and its operation were quite varied, ranging from overtly hostile to genuinely supportive. Although most of the non-Indians that the researcher questioned expressed a degree of tolerance, there was often an added proviso to the effect of "it's all right; I think it is a good thing for them as long as they don't upset things too much". This was usually added with reference to feared intervention with the ongoing exploration and economic development of the resources of the North: economic participation in the North being, however, one of the main concerns of the Brotherhood. Some apprehension was noted among the white population generally, even among those who in principle agreed with the idea of an Indian Brotherhood. However, as one woman said:

> A lot of people here are a little bit afraid of the Brotherhood, probably because it is so new. A change like this is a change in the status quo without really knowing what the end result will be. Given time, the Brotherhood will eventually become an accepted fact of life in the North.

Another couple, long-time residents of Yellowknife, praised the establishment of the Brotherhood in terms of potential economic effects. They felt that many of the civil servants, often "short-timers" in the North, had been largely ignoring the real problems of the Indian people and that the Brotherhood could apply pressures for change.

> There is a lot of construction going on here but the contractors seem to bring in most of their men from the south. There are lots of Indians in Yellowknife that could do the work but they don't get hired. The Brotherhood should be able to apply some pressure to create fairer employment. It is about time that people woke up to the problems created by welfare and lack of available jobs.

Some overtly hostile reactions to the Brotherhood were also noted among members of the dominant group. Most of the persons who could be included in this group tended to rationalize, or sought to explain themselves, by saying that the Indian people in the North should be treated the same as anyone else and not given special treatment. The Indian Brotherhood was considered by them to constitute the perpetuation of a special status for Indian people that they did not agree with. However, upon closer questioning, most admitted in one way or another that they saw the Brotherhood as a threat to the position of the white population in the North. According to one individual involved with a local business:

> We have developed the North with a lot of money and hard work and now they (the Brotherhood representing the Indian people) want to get all the benefits without having done anything. The Brotherhood people are only stirring up trouble here.

Another individual expressed an opinion that was shared by several other non-Indians in both the private and public sectors.

> This Brotherhood stuff is a lot of nonsense. We work hard and pay taxes to the government and then they turn around and support things like this (the Brotherhood) so we can be told how bad we are.

According to one Brotherhood official, such extreme reactions were not common. He felt that most non-Indians in the area had adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

> Given time, we think that a lot of the white people will come to realize that what we are trying to do, while representing a change from the past, is still necessary. Since you (the researcher) were here last, a lot more Indians have been finding employment and we think that we are at least partly responsible.

He admitted that some of the more "liberal" attitudes and actions in both the government and private sectors could possibly be attempts to minimize or reduce the growing influence of the Brotherhood, but felt that the Indian people were becoming more aware of such attempts and would reject them.

Education

Since education, and the educational system in the North, was found to be intimately connected with the operation of the major barriers to inter-group mobility, an innovation which has been introduced in this area is most significant. The major development involved the conception, planning, construction, and ultimate operation of the Jimmy Bruneau School at Edzo, a new townsite about fourteen miles from Fort Rae. This was almost entirely the result of the efforts of the people of Fort Rae and involved both younger and older people in planning and development. Although at the time of the second field trip the school was not yet open, favourable attitudes and anticipation of its operation were noted, particularly among the Indian people in the area. Of the three major institutional innovations noted during the research, the concept and development of this school received the most consistently positive reaction from both Indians and non-Indians.

Two major influences contributed to the development of this new school. First, most of the Indian people recognized that the educational system as it was then operating in the North was not satisfactory, an opinion particularly noticeable among the younger people. Considerable resentment was evident, for example, concerning the fact that most of the existing educational facilities were located outside the Indian communities. While perhaps convenient for the purposes of the centralized, white-dominated administration, this did not satisfy the needs and desires of the Indian people, parents or students. Resentment of external location applied not only to the physical placement of the schools but also to the fact that the Indian people had little effective control or involvement with their operation. On the one hand then, Indian students were often necessarily absent from their homes and communities for extended periods of time in a highly formalized, different cultural milieu. On the other hand, there was little or no Indian influence on the educational experiences of their children. In this sense, the existing educational system was increasingly recognized as an institution which drew Indian children away from their families and culture; that it was an acculturating agency of the dominant society.

Second, almost paradoxically, there was a recognition on the part of many Indian people, young and old, that given the changes occurring in the North, better knowledge, skills and training for the Indian people were essential. This was found to be the general opinion whether or not informants felt that the students ought to remain in the Indian community in the broadest sense, or whether they might choose to enter some segment of the larger society. In either case there was the desire that the Indian students retain their identity and an awareness of their cultural heritage, sentiments which were of prime importance to the school planners. Perhaps the best illustration of the concerns and attitudes of the Indian people toward the school can be drawn from a long conversation between the researcher, the Fort Rae Chief and several Fort Rae band councillors that took place at the researcher's home in Edmonton. These sentiments were continually echoed by others in Fort Rae.

> It is necessary that this new school be set up for our people. Our children now go away to school and if they come back they do not know their people or how to live. Many now quit and become hangers-on in the white society or come back less educated than when they left. As it is now, our children are losing their pride in being Indian as well as losing Indian ways.

> We know that many of our people are drawn to the white world and do not want to return to Rae. It is also true that not everyone can stay in Rae and live as we do now. What we want is for our children to have education so that if they want to go, they can get jobs and not be on the bottom of the society. We also want them to have a pride in who they are and where they are from and not to forget. We hope that in the future many will get education and come back to help their people in Rae.

Later, while checking the accuracy of his notes with the friend who had translated this discussion, the researcher was told by him that the written word did not convey the strong emotional overtones that were present. He said that they, like many others, regretted these changes but explained further that:

> Since we have to go to school by law now anyway, we should be going to a school of our own. This is why I have been working for this new school. I think that my own children will be much better off there than in the type of schools that are now operating.

According to many informants in Rae, particularly those who had been involved in planning the school, there would be a number of important differences between it and other schools operating in the Northwest Territories. Being partly residential and partly non-residential, it would serve primarily the Indian population of Fort Rae and vicinity, allowing the students from Rae to attend on a daily basis while living at home. A majority of board members controlling the new school were to be Indians from Fort Rae. As such, the Indian people of Rae would have a degree of control over the education of their children that did not exist anywhere else in the Territories. While the intention was that academic, commercial, and technical curricula would be followed in the school, the board also intended to place considerable stress on having the staff relate this, as much as possible, to the culture and needs of the Indian people. An important innovation was to be the hiring of Indian people with traditional skills and knowledge as instructors. In this way, it was hoped that these skills and the culture could be passed on along with the rest of the curriculum.

While realizing that the teachers would be non-Indian, at least in the initial years of operation, there was a definite intention on the part of the school board members to hire Indian teachers as soon as they became available. It was hoped that some students would eventually further their education and return to teach in the school. Because the school would be located close to Fort Rae, would have an Indian controlled school board, and would emphasize cultural relevance in the curriculum, the Indian people felt that the acculturative pressures of the white dominated school system could be minimized. Those students who would leave the Indian society would have the skills and knowledge to participate in the larger society but would have, they felt, a pride and awareness of themselves as Indians at the same time.

All of the Indian people who were asked about their feelings toward the school expressed enthusiasm and optimism, with the exception of a few persons of isolationist persuasion. Students who had expressed feelings of alientation and resentment toward the existing residential schools generally felt that this would certainly be an improvement. While some indicated that they would miss being away from home, most felt that they would be able to work better and have fewer problems in this type of school. Several persons involved with the planning of the school pointed to the high drop-out rate for Indians in the existing schools and felt that this new concept of Indian education might help to reverse this.

Many older people, particularly the parents of school age children, felt that the school would offer opportunities for the band as a whole, as well as the students. In addition to providing education for their children, the school would also provide employment for a number of local people in various capacities. Several people did express some mixed emotions about the school, noting that many children might eventually leave Rae. However, they usually added words to the effect that:

> Not everyone can stay in Rae the way things are now and at least they should be able to get good jobs instead of just bumming around.

Through all of the discussions with Indian people about the school, the researcher was aware of an immense feeling of pride. This was to be their school, people from Rae had been instrumental in establishing it and would be in control of it. For example, the researcher was continually asked whether he had been to Edzo to see the new school and what he thought of it. On three separate occasions, friends proudly conducted the researcher through the school, pointing out all the amenities and facilities which "we are making available for our people".

Among the non-Indian population, the researcher noted a reaction that was generally supportive of both the aims and proposed methods of the new school. In spite of the general positive reaction, many still maintained what could be described as a 'wait and see' attitude. As one businessman stated in conversation with the researcher:

> This is the first time that I have seen them (the Indian people) take any real interest in education and I hope that they will be able to make a go of it. This time though, if they have problems, it is going to be up to them to solve them. I wish them luck.

While the majority of the non-Indians that the researcher talked to felt that a better educated Indian population would be good for the area as a whole, some indicated a slight fear that this might be potentially disruptive. This latter viewpoint was held by those who were the most apprehensive about the growing Indian demands for access to the decision-making processes. However, unlike the Indian Brotherhood, the new school was regarded by relatively few non-Indians as a direct threat or a disruptive influence.

The Native Press

The Native Press, a newspaper published by the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, was in its organization and functioning, the third major organizational innovation that was noted during the course of the research. Although it was operated by the Indian Brotherhood, and oriented toward the same goals, the paper has been examined separately because of its particular functions and relations with different segments of the society. The format of the paper, as well as conversations with staff members, clearly demonstrated the functions and purposes of the paper and their innovative nature. At the time of the research there was only one other newspaper published in Yellowknife, a weekly directed primarily toward the non-Indian population and paying only peripheral attention to the Indian people and their concerns. The Native Press was initiated partly as a response to the inadequacies of this white-dominated paper, partly to facilitate better communications between Indians, and partly to serve as the official voice of the Indian Brotherhood. Although it claimed that the opinions expressed were not necessarily those of the Brotherhood, the researcher found consistent agreement.

The Native Press was, like any other newspaper, a medium of communication between various segments of a population and a channel for the expression and dissemination of fact and opinion. A major function of the paper was conveying information about the operation of the Indian Brotherhood to all people in the North, particularly the Indian people. Extensive coverage of the activities of Indian Brotherhood officials, policies and general progress served this purpose. The following are several examples of this type of information dissemination.

Concerning Brotherhood involvement with particular band problems:

> President James Washie of the Brotherhood spoke out at the meeting (Yellowknife Town Council) against the lack of consultation by the City with the people of the Island about the new plan. He pointed out that there is little talk at present between the Indian people and the City government.[2]

The major portion of one issue was devoted to reporting the annual Brotherhood meeting in some detail, including all of the resolutions passed by the Board of Directors, the Chiefs of the Indian settlements in the Territories.

> Meeting a Success
> 'PUT POWER IN OUR HANDS'
> The Indian People will not be satisfied with a second place role in the Northwest Territories. All sixteen chiefs in the N.W.T. and over eighty delegates met and demanded that the people take over control of their own affairs at the second Annual General Meeting of the Indian Brotherhood of the N.W.T.[3]

In several issues there were reports about the relationships being established with other Indian organizations and participation of Brotherhood officials in meetings concerning general Indian problems.

> Three members - President James Washie, lawyer Gerry Sutton and Antoine Barnaby, of the Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood - attended a National Indian Brotherhood conference in Regina, Saskatchewan, July 21, 22, and 23.
>
> They told other delegates at the conference of problems the Indian people of the N.W.T. are having. The National Brotherhood gave support to the ideas of the Territorial Brotherhood, written down in a report presented by James Washie.[4]

Concern of the Brotherhood with treaty rights and related issues was found in many issues of the Native Press, but generally focused on land rights and land usage.

> The Brotherhood is opposed to any pipeline until treaties 8 and 11 are settled as said (sic) by the 16 Indian Bands of the N.W.T. during the meeting of the all Chiefs Meeting at Fort Rae this summer.[5]

Feedback to the Brotherhood in the form of letters and reports from various communities indicated that, to some extent, the paper acted as a multi-directional channel of communications. The following illustration is taken from a letter written by the Chief of one band, but is indicative of the concerns expressed in many letters and community reports.

> What I would like to bring out and let Indian Brotherhood know the situation that we are in. The Government controls the whole Northwest Territories. We were here before the white (sic) came into the Northwest Territories.
>
> The Government are making plans ahead, we would say about four or five years ahead. Then when their plans are completely finished, the way they wanted them they notify the Indians to let them know what intentions they have plan (sic). Well, at this point we have no choice. We Indians, we have no way of getting out of it.[6]

Through numerous reports and articles, news and occurrences in other parts of the country which were of particular interest to Indian people were transmitted to the people of the North for the first time. For example, there were reports about the National Indian Brotherhood, and about various provincial Indian organizations and their activities, all of which served to bring the Indians of the North into closer contact with Indians in other parts of the country. One issue for example devoted a complete page to material stemming from the annual meeting of the Indian Association of Alberta. The following excerpt is from a summary of the main speech delivered by the President of the I.A.A.

> There are many white-men who still hold that

> the Indian is inferior. They want to be told that the Indian is worthless, lazy and always drunk. Perhaps in the past we have been too kind to people such as this.[7]

In a similar fashion, because the Native Press was circulated to other Indian organizations in the south, news and concerns of the Indian peoples of the Northwest Territories received much wider attention.

Functioning as an alternate to the white-dominated press then operating in the North, the Native Press presented the opinions and concerns of the Indian people to the larger society, as well as bringing major problems to the attention of Indian people who might not otherwise have been aware of them. The policies and actions of the dominant group, including both public and private sectors, were for the first time being scrutinized by Indian people, and openly and thoroughly debated and challenged from their perspective. The Native Press thus provided a channel through which Indian opinion had open access to the institutions of the larger society, thus allowing at least potential influence on the decision-making processes. In this respect, the questions of treaties, aboriginal land rights and the economic and social impact of exploration and resource development in the North were the most frequently noted areas of concern. At the same time, through ongoing discussions of these issues in the paper and with emphasis upon their effects on the Indian population, the Indian people as a whole had access to previously unavailable information.

The Native Press also attempted to foster unity and the awareness of common Indian problems in the North through extensive coverage of local community news and of gatherings involving people of different bands and settlements. In every issue, Indian people throughout the Northwest Territories could read of events or problems involving other individuals or communities. A great deal of coverage, for example, was given to such things as meetings of Chiefs, Indian participation in sports events, Indian Princess elections, and other inter-band, inter-settlement events. The researcher was told that a major objective of wide circulation of the paper in the North was to create "a greater sense of common Indian identity which distance and difficult communications had previously precluded". A by-product of this that the researcher noted was a reduction in the open expression of inter-tribal hostility based on past exploitation or warfare. As one individual working for the Native Press remarked:

> One of our major jobs is to get the people in the different bands to see that their problems are not theirs alone. If we can do this and at the same time break down some of the old band and settlement rivalry, we will have gone a long way toward creating the unity that is needed to deal with the government.

A significant portion of each issue was also devoted to the preservation and maintenance of Indian identity and pride, particularly with respect to culture. Stories and poems by contemporary Indians were found side by side with traditional legends and stories, often as related by older people, in a regular feature called 'Tales of the People'. While both traditional and contemporary items were generally from northern sources, material from other parts of the country was also often included. The researcher found that these items, and others of a directly cultural nature, were widely read, often before and more thoroughly than the news stories of contemporary political or economic interest. As one young high school student pointed out:

> We have been told in school that we don't have much of a cultural tradition, mainly because we don't have a written language of our own. These stories show people how wrong that is. Because my father can't read English, I read them to him and he will usually tell some others that he is reminded of.

The Native Press thus provided for the first time in the North a continuing forum in which issues of concern to the Indian people were raised openly and pointedly. By raising what were often sensitive matters to the dominant group, the Native Press, like the Indian Brotherhood, was often in conflict with the goals and activities of the non-Indian institutions.

THE CHANGING SITUATION

The rapid economic and population expansion of the Northwest Territories engendered a situation of almost continual change. Several specific types or directions of change were noted as being of particular importance in the research area. These were found in the interrelated areas of relations between Indians and non-Indians, relations between the North and centres of power in the south, and changes in particular institutional spectra. The organizational developments undertaken by the Indian people, as discussed above, were both a response and a contribution to the changes that were occurring in the overall situation. As any social entity responds to changes in its environment which affect it, the Indians in the North also responded to their situation, to continuing white domination, and to the changes occurring in the North and in the more remote centres of power. The major area of contention was the continuing and even greater exclusion of the Indians from economic and political decision-making. The innovations introduced were in part oriented toward gaining power and influence in these areas and in turn contributed to further changes in the northern situation, particularly in the area of Indian-white relations.

The objections of many Indian people, but particularly the younger leaders, to the fact that decisions affecting them and their future were being made remote from, and without consultation with, them, was shared by many non-Indians as well. Although the specific points of reference varied, members of each group felt that far too much of the control over decisions affecting the Northwest

Territories was held and exercised externally to the North. Although they differed significantly with respect to details, Indians and non-Indians alike were increasingly demanding much more autonomy in political and economic matters. Conflict between the two parties was based on the fact that the non-Indians wanted local control but general continuation of the same system, while Indians were demanding power to institute changes in the system and their role in it.

The concerns and demands of both groups were directed at the continuing closely related power of the Federal Government and large external corporations over the course of Northern development, and the economic benefits derived from it. The Indian leaders expressed the additional demand that any changes proposed or implemented in these areas should not merely perpetuate the dominant-subordinate relationship but must give the Indian people a significant share in the decision-making processes, especially in the area of long-range northern development. As one Brotherhood official stated:

> We have received almost nothing for all the wealth taken from the North, our land, up to now. We want a fair share in determining the future of the North and in the benefits that come from development taking place here.

Indian leaders and many non-Indians as well were in basic agreement that only a small proportion of the economic and other benefits of exploitation and development remained in the North and wanted changes in this respect. The Indian people, being in a subordinate position in the northern as well as the overall power hierarchy, were demanding much more basic changes than the non-Indians.

However, despite Indian opposition to many Federally approved development schemes, and what amounted to a profound distrust of "government" in its many forms, they did hold a special position vis-a-vis the Federal Government. This relationship between the Indians and the Federal Government was best characterized by one young informant who called it a "need-hate" relationship.

> The Indian people don't like and don't trust most of the actions of the government and history supports this opinion. But we need it in a way for without it we would probably have been swamped by the white society long ago.

While the Federal Government was thus often regarded in a negative manner, there was a formal, although questionable, Treaty with it, and the Indian Act did provide a measure of protection for Indian people that otherwise would not have existed. An illustration of this relationship is found in the Indian Brotherhood's response to the proposed implementation of aspects of the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969.

> The Board of Directors asked that the Federal Government recognize the special legal, constitutional, and moral status of the Indian People of the N.W.T. and correc(t) the unconstitutional, illegal and immoral practice of transferring Federal responsibility for Indian People to the Territorial Government of the N.W.T. by appointing, after consultation with the Indian people of the N.W.T., a suitable representative of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.[8]

In addition to thus providing the basis for a definite status of Indian people, the Federal Government also provided funds for organizations such as the Indian Brotherhood, and for housing, health care, etc. A suspicion was voiced by several informants that Federal funding for the Brotherhood had been intended to "buy off" Indian leaders and that government officials thus seemed surprised by the activities of the Brotherhood in so strongly pursuing Indian rights. While some Indian people would have liked to break away from the control and influence of the Federal Government, this was not regarded as feasible until Treaties, land and aboriginal rights, etc., had been satisfactorily settled. In addition, most felt that they would be considerably worse off, socially, economically, and politically if they were to be under the sole jurisdiction of the Territorial Government, or possibly a future provincial government.

Primary concern was, however, with Indian-white relations and the developments or changes that were occurring in this respect. The major organizational innovations have already been examined in some detail along with some of the specific effects that they had on aspects of the situation. These will now be examined briefly in a somewhat broader context with particular reference to major changes in the overall situation in the North. The long-term effects of these organizational innovations on the Indian population, on the non-Indian population, on inter-group relations and on the continuing development of the situation are, of course, open to some conjecture. However, a number of indicators of the general direction of such changes were noted, particularly during the second field trip. At that time, the Indian Brotherhood and the Native Press were moving into full operation and the new school was in the final stages of completion.

A major area of ongoing change that was noted at this time was related to an evolving redefinition of economic and occupational mobility, and especially the terms or barriers associated with inter-group aspects of mobility. Aspects of this process of redefinition were noted among both the Indian and non-Indian populations. On the one hand, the Indian people seemed to be generally less accepting of the assimilative and acculturative pressures which had been associated with successful mobility. Younger people in particular were increasingly demanding, with some success, that economic and occupational mobility be possible without the loss of their identity. On the other hand, institutions of the dominant society were coming under increasing pressure to provide opportunities for greater economic and occupational mobility for Indian people. A number of informants connected with the Indian Brotherhood, as well as several non-Indians, indicated two significant and interrelated factors in this connection. First, the action of the Indian Brotherhood and the Native Press in asserting Indian rights in the North and in demanding basic changes in the dominant-subordinate relationship, was considered to be a major contributing factor. Second, they pointed to a growing awareness by Indians and non-Indians alike of the increasing ability of the Indian people to exercise their power and influence to create changes, chiefly through the use of publicity and political involvement.

Speaking to the researcher about the first point, one Brotherhood official stated a widely held opinion.

> We have made them (the white institutions) really aware of us for the first time. We now question their decisions and policies openly and demand changes where necessary. They are slowly coming to realize that the Indians in the North are a major part of the society and cannot be ignored any longer. If there is discrimination or unfair treatment of Indians, we can bring it into the open and they are afraid of that.

Concerning the second factor, he said:

> Since Indian people got involved in politics and elected an Indian to the Territorial Council, many more Indians seem to be able to find jobs, especially in the government. They (non-Indians) still hold all the real power but we are gradually making gains.

During the second field trip, the researcher noted some evidence of the improvements that the above informant referred to, with noticeably more employment of Indian people in both private and public sectors. That this was in part due to the activities of the Indian organizations was apparent, but quite a few informants questioned the motives of the white-dominated institutions in making these changes. As was mentioned previously, there was still white resistance to the changes that were occurring vis-a-vis the Indian population, although it was less overt than during the first field trip. It seemed to these informants and to the researcher that the overt expressions of the barriers, discrimination in hiring, etc., that had been noted during the first field trip were the source of potential negative publicity that many non-Indians wished to avoid. The changes that had occurred, particularly with respect to employment and access to decision-making positions, were thus felt to be tokenistic in some respects. An attitude that was noted by the researcher and Indian informants was that some of the non-Indian institutions seemed to be trying to "cool off" the growing Indian pressures by such means as providing more jobs and promising "consultation" with Indians before making decisions affecting them.

In addition, many of the more recently employed Indian people, especially the younger persons, were quick to point out to the researcher that: "Just because we are working in government (or in a particular business enterprise) it doesn't mean that we have given up being Indian." As one young man in this position said:

> Because I have some education I now have a job and can get better things for my family. But I am still an Indian and I am going to make sure that my children know who they are as well. My work and my life outside work are two different things and I am trying to keep them apart for this reason.

This and similar statements represented a noticeable change in attitude, apparently a part of the growing sense of pride and self-identification with being Indian. The Indian people, as mentioned earlier, were trying to incorporate this philosophy into the goals of the new school. It would seem that if the Indian Brotherhood and the new concept of Indian education continue successfully, the number of Indians partially or completely integrated occupationally without being acculturated will increase.

As stated previously, there was apparently considerably more non-Indian support for the education concept than for either the Indian Brotherhood or for the Native Press. Considering the views of many non-Indians, this reflected in part at least a continuation of many of the older attitudes. Quite a few non-Indians gave definite indication that they felt the school would ultimately increase Indian acculturation and "get them to fit better into the whole society". Schools were generally regarded as places where the goals and values of the society were learned and, in this instance, many non-Indians were either unaware of the goals of the school or were ignoring them. While the Indians involved recognized that some acculturation would be inevitable in such a system, they felt that this could be minimized and that there would be maximal culture retention.

Unlike the school, toward which there was little negative reaction, and unlike the traditional band structures which were largely ignored by the dominant group, both the Indian Brotherhood and the newspaper aroused considerable negative reaction of one form or another. The reason for this was found to be twofold. First, the latter two organizations were more directly involved with the institutions of the larger dominant society, often impinging on them in the course of their activities. Second, the Brotherhood and the _Native Press_ represented overt and immediate expressions of Indianness and Indian concerns, while "a school is a school". Because of the above two factors, the Brotherhood and the _Native Press_ were seen as being a real or potential threat to the established dominant-subordinate power hierarchy in a way in which the school was not. It follows then that much of the growing sense of Indian-white conflict that was apparent in the situation was directly related to the above factors. These conflicts, or potential conflicts, were becoming increasingly important in the North and in Indian-white relations there.

Many of the conflicts that were present in the area, as noted earlier, were tending to become much more specific and more focused around the changes occurring as a result of the Indian organizational activity. Previous changes had been predominantly determined by the dominant group with little or no reference to the Indian people, increasing the latent conflicts created by cultural divergence and pressure for culture change. This condition was felt to exist in part because of the relatively disunited and isolated Indian population and in part because of the inability of the traditional Indian leadership to deal effectively with the modern, technologically oriented non-Indian society. However, the major contributing factor was the overwhelming power of the white population and institutions, particularly in the economic and political areas.

The forerunners of the development of the Indian Brotherhood, the Native Press and the new concept of Indian education, the Indian-Eskimo Association and the Company of Young Canadians, were quite significant in developing ideas of unity and action as well as Indian leadership potential. Both organizations, but especially the Company of Young Canadians, brought young people of different bands together on projects involving common problems, treaty research, band development, and eventually the formation of the Indian Brotherhood, although the majority involved were Dogribs from Fort Rae. These organizations provided much needed exposure for northern Indians to the intricacies of political machinations, economics and the organizational skills necessary for successful interaction with the institutions of the dominant society. These factors, in combination with the growing number of relatively well educated Indian people with considerable exposure to the non-Indian society, who were determined to retain their Indian heritage, were of major importance to the development of the new Indian-controlled innovative organizations.

The conflicts they engendered, while generally related to the retention of Indian culture and way of life and to demands for equality, justice and access to decision-making, were expressed and observed in several different ways. Among these were the conflicts involving demands for treaty and land claim settlements, for equal opportunity in all areas of life, especially the economic, and for just participation in the decision-making processes as they related to northern development. That the demands of the Indian people in these areas involved conflicts with the political and economic interests of the dominant group was readily apparent. For example, the settlement of the land claims and re-negotiation of the treaty in accordance with the Indian demands was felt by many non-Indians to offer considerable potential disruption to the ongoing economic exploitation of the North.

With the establishment of the Indian Brotherhood and the Native Press in particular, these interests of the dominant group were for the first time being challenged by a viable, organized and articulate Indian opposition. Some whites saw this opposition as obstructionist; Indian leaders, however, stated that it was intended to restore to the Indian population a position in the northern society that was rightly theirs and which had been wrested from them.

Parenthetically, the above-mentioned importance of the Company of Young Canadians with respect to contemporary Indian organizational activity has also contributed to some dispute and potential conflict within Indian ranks. From its introduction to the North, the Company of Young Canadians was centred in Yellowknife and was most active there and in Fort Rae. It was not unexpected therefore to find that the Company of Young Canadians drew the majority of its Indian volunteers from Rae, the largest Indian community in the North and the closest to Yellowknife. It was the researcher's observation during the first field trip that the Company of Young Canadians could not have functioned there without Dogrib support; six of the eight volunteers then active in the area being from Fort Rae.

With the formation of the Indian Brotherhood, the influential Dogrib Indians among the Company of Young Canadians personnel moved to leadership positions in the Brotherhood. Occasionally the researcher heard allegations from non-Dogribs Indians to the effect that Dogrib people and interests dominated the Indian Brotherhood. To the extent that this was true, as for example in the powerful position of president and several of the key executive positions, the reasons seemed to be similar to those responsible for the former Dogrib - Company of Young Canadians relationship. However, the Brotherhood leadership appeared to be making some efforts to include persons from other bands in the upper echelons of the organization. Such efforts, it may be speculated, might have been the result of necessity; the Brotherhood having to obtain support from all Indian peoples in the North. The president of the Brotherhood for example, the most influential person in the organization and its primary spokesman, is a Dogrib.

SUMMARY

Although the Indian people were found to have reacted in several ways to their situation, the organizational innovations were certainly the critical and most significant aspects of changing Indian-white relations in the area. As has been illustrated, they were developed in response to a situation characterized by continuing white economic, political and social domination in the North and a general sense of Indian powerlessness. While the assimilationist, separatist and acquiescent responses represented basically individual adaptations to the situation, the innovationists sought, through collective action and organization, basic changes in Indian-white relationships. The emergent organizations, while Indian-oriented and Indian controlled, were outside both the traditional Indian organizational milieu and the white-dominated institutions of the larger society. These involved the creation of, what were for the North, entirely new concepts and organizations which were interjected into the existing relationships between the two groups. Thus, existing and functioning in and between both groups, they represented the attempts of a developing active segment of the Indian population to deal with an increasingly complex and difficult situation.

By virtue of their intermediate position between the dominant and subordinate institutions, these new Indian organizations sought to both protect the Indian culture and way of life and to represent the Indians and their concerns, challenging the dominant power structures on their behalf. These two functions had been found difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish through the existing means and structures in or available to the subordinate group. The new bodies therefore utilized technology and organizational knowledge derived from the dominant group to combat its power more effectively.

The new Indian organizations had essentially a dual nature with respect to their role and operation in the overall situation. Their existence and operation was predicated upon the Indian culture and the concept of Indian-ness. However, in order to be effective, they of necessity incorporated changes which utilized aspects of the dominant group's culture. These changes placed them, in some ways, apart from the traditional Indian structures, just as their emphasis upon Indian-ness separated them from the institutions of the dominant group. Nevertheless, despite their intermediate position, they were also dependent to a degree upon both dominant and subordinate institutions for their functioning. While necessary funding was obtained from the Federal Government, for example, the support of the traditional Indian leadership was also necessary for continued grass-roots support.

In the case of the Indian Brotherhood and the Native Press in particular, their challenges to the power of the dominant institutions and demands for change in the power relationships between the two groups were often viewed as a direct threat to the long-established white dominance in the North. On the other hand, their operations supplanted some of the former prerogatives of the chiefs and band councils in dealing with non-Indian institutions. However, a major area of strength was their existence and operation at a supra-band level, representing all Indians yet not deliberately interfering with band operations.

CHAPTER VII - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Native Press, May 6, 1972, p. 14.

[2] Native Press, June 11, 1971, p. 1.

[3] Native Press, July 15, 1971, p. 1.

[4] Native Press, August 7, 1971, p. 5.

[5] Native Press, November 26, 1971, p. 1.

[6] Native Press, October 8, 1971, p. 2.

[7] Native Press, June 11, 1971, p. 5.

[8] Native Press, July 14, 1971, p. 7.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The examination of information obtained in the present research indicates that the major characteristics of a marginal situation, as derived from the literature, are present in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area. However, in terms of the historical antecedents of the situation and other causally related factors, Indian-white relations in the North differ significantly from the marginal situations discussed in the literature. The investigation of the situation, its antecedents and its consequences, produced information concerning the development of Indian organizations that could not be wholly accounted for in terms of marginal man theory. Therefore, in addition to the development of the situation itself, particular attention has been paid to these developmental and challenging changes which were a direct consequence of this situation.

It has been concluded therefore that the subordinate group members responsible for these innovations, or involved in them, were not "marginal men" in the earlier sense of the term. Indeed, they were found to be responding to the situation in a manner which effectively eliminated, or minimized, personal or individual marginality. Although those individuals who were assimilationist in orientation but without success might be considered to be marginal in the traditional sense, they were few in number and not representative of the Indian people as a whole. This investigation also led to the conclusion that the general assumption of desired assimilation on the part of subordinate group members in a characteristic marginal situation was not accurate in this type of situation and could only be substantiated in individual cases. In fact many of the subordinate group members professed to desire the opposite: to retain their Indian identity and significant aspects of their value culture.

The attitude of most of those involved in the Indian organizations was that some degree of greater integration with the larger society was inevitable for many of the subordinate group member, but that this should be accomplished more on their terms and involve minimal culture loss. To this end, the organizational developments and associated changes were seen as being innovative and challenging interjections into the power hierarchy of inter-group relationships, predicated upon the retention of Indian culture and identity, combined with equitable participation in the larger society and basic changes in inter-group relations. As N.O. Lurie wrote in this connection:

> The movement that is underway among Indian people seeks to reorganize the total society to allow articulation into it on their own terms. The major problem is to find negotiable assets with which to bargain for survival in the larger system.[1]

The history of Indian-white relations in the North shows, especially in this century, a steadily increasing dominance of whites over Indians particularly in economics but in most other areas of life as well. For the Dogrib people of the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area, this has meant the transition from relatively independent fur trade Indians to the position of an increasingly subordinate dependent minority on the periphery of the larger society. Yet, as Helm and Leacock note:

> In the course of contact all northern Indian groups have sustained blows to their social and cultural fabric. Yet some, the Rae Dogribs for example, have to the present day largely escaped demoralization.[2]

In the light of this statement, and considering the size of Fort Rae and its proximity to the white-dominated sub-metropolis of Yellowknife, it is not surprising that Fort Rae Dogrib people have been instrumental in developing organizational innovations to challenge the dominant institutions.

POWER: A COMPLEMENTARY EXPLANATION

As is discussed in some detail in earlier chapters, a number of facets of inter-group relations were found to be characteristic of a marginal situation. The research demonstrated that all of these particular phenomena were present in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in one form or another. However, these were found to be the result of a combination of historical, economic, political, and geographic factors which differ significantly from the general causal factors indicated in marginal man literature. While the Indians in the North were outside or on the periphery of the dominant power structures, only a few could be considered to be "marginal men". Although the dominant group exerted considerable pressures for assimilation, intentionally or unintentionally, there was evidence of considerable resistance on the part of the Indian population. Of particular importance in this instance, the challenging innovative organizational responses cannot be accounted for or explained adequately by the marginal man literature. It is therefore concluded that marginal man theory does not offer a fully adequate, causally related explanation of either the situation in the North or its consequences, although the concept of the marginal situation does provide a useful framework for ordering, describing and interrelating data.

The previous discussion of the historical evolution of the northern situation, the examination of the situation itself, and the review of marginal man literature suggest several related reasons for this and indicate the necessity of more completely incorporating power relationships into the discussion.

First, the concept of marginal man stems from the examination of immigrant or migrant minorities and is strongly biased toward the assimilationist assumptions of the 1920's and 1930's. These biases make it difficult to relate the theory to a situation of colonial domination, as Patterson describes Indian-white relations in Canada.[3] The validity of an argument based upon an assimilationist perspective is certainly questionable in the light of the resistance found to assimilation in the northern situation. To so argue would essentially ignore the realities of the development of that situation and its consequences.

Second, the historical evolution of Indian-white relations in Canada, as discussed earlier, indicates that the major factor in their relationship was not an assimilationist orientation by the subordinate group but rather economic exploitation by the dominant group. In this type of situation, white domination was ensured by a more technologically and organizationally sophisticated culture combined with control of the economy and scarce resources. Emerging from the early relationship of mutual advantage, continuing exploitation of natural resources involved increasing exploitation of the indigenous population. The decline of the fur trade in the south and the desire of the incoming whites to use the land for agricultural purposes meant that the Indians were coerced or forced onto peripheral reserves. In the North, Indians were also pushed to the periphery of the society, not because of the need for land, but because they were no longer necessary to the rapidly changing economy. In both instances, Indians came to be regarded by the dominant group as being irrelevant to the larger society[4] unless they could be assimilated. However, in the North in particular, there has been considerable resistance to direct or indirect pressures in this direction.

Third, the relationship between Indians and whites is predicated upon power differentials, based upon economics but extending to the political and social spheres as well. In the marginal man literature, power is generally regarded as incidental to the assimilation processes, not as the basis for continuing inter-group relations. By maintaining and expanding spheres of control and influence, the dominant white population has maintained its superordinate position vis-a-vis the Indians. As a consequence, dominant institutions have continually excluded Indians from access to power and, in the North in particular, from participation in the benefits and decision-making related to resource exploitation. Economic domination, and its extensions, have essentially forced the Indians into the position of an economically subordinate and dependent class.[5]

Fourth, marginal man theory and its applications suggest that cultural differences between involved groups are tied to ethnicity etc., and implies broader cultural similarities in the area that Honigmann describes as ideology than are found in the North between Indians and whites.

> The term ideology includes reference to values, beliefs, and sentiments - whether implicit or explicit - that are a part of a cultural system.[6]

However, as he later points out with reference to northern Indian-white relations, "noncomplementary ideological differences ...

outstrip instances of shares and complementary beliefs".[7] That these basic cultural differences are present in the North and affect Indian-white relations has been clearly demonstrated.

In the light of the above and considering the earlier discussion of power in both the northern Indian-white situation and its historical evolution, a complementary interpretation of the situation, its causes and consequences, may be advanced. The development of Indian-white relations in the North has involved an expanding control and exercise of power by the dominant white society over a subordinate Indian population. This has been discussed in earlier chapters with respect to economic, religious, educational and political-administrative institutions. In each instance, the Indian population and its interests have been subordinated to the interests and needs of the dominant institutions through their representatives in the North. The state of Indian powerlessness thus engendered is further enhanced by the extra-territoriality of the power structures represented in the immediate situation.

Viewed thus, the northern situation comes into sharper focus from the perspective of the metropolis-hinterland model. As used here, metropolis refers to "the centres of economic and political control located in the larger cities" and hinterland means the "relatively underdeveloped or colonial areas which export for the most part semi-processed extractive materials".[8] That these two extremes are found in the power centres of the south and in the more remote and underdeveloped North in Canada is readily apparent. In terms of the relationship between the two, Davis suggests that each is in a way dependent on the other although "metropolis continuously dominates and exploits hinterland whether in regional, national, class, or ethnic terms".[9] This relationship is also readily seen in the discussion of the expansion of the fur trade and later mineral resource exploitation in Canada and in the Canadian North in particular.

With the decline in the fur trade and the growth of other areas of resource exploitation and administrative structures, the controlling metropolises have shifted from the external centres of the fur trade to the major centres of political and corporate power in Canada and the United States. These changes in the major economic base in the North resulted in the growth of non-Indian population there and the development of centres such as Yellowknife as local exploitation and later administrative centres. Usher points out in this connection that:

> The emanation of power and the diffusion of innovations are channelled through 'entrepots' or intermediate metropoli. These intermediate metropoli are subordinate to the major metropoli yet also exert control over their own hinterlands.[10]

In this case, Yellowknife is typical of such an intermediate metropolis having many representatives of various externally-dominated institutions and a well defined position in the political hierarchy - subordinate to Ottawa, yet exercising considerable power over its own hinterland. Attempts to extend this power were visible: pressuring Indian settlements to adopt village or hamlet status rather than band council government for example. Power is thus diffused from the external economic and political metropolises through the representatives in the intermediate metropolis, to the ethnic hinterland of the Indian population. The situation has therefore evolved wherein power is exercised not only externally to the Indian population but also externally to the North itself. Conflicts emerged in this situation as a result of both Indian and white challenges to the existing power relationships: Indians demanding access to power and non-Indians desiring greater local autonomy.

But more important for the present discussion is Davis' statement that:

> The symbiotic 'metropolis-hinterland' model assumes (1) conflict of interests between metropolis and hinterland: and (2) a tendency on the part of hinterland groups to fight back eventually against their metropolitan exploiters in order to gain a larger place in the regional or national or international sun.[11]

If the Indian population is viewed as an exploited and subordinate ethnically differentiated hinterland population, the conflicts noted between it and the dominant society in terms of culture, economics, education, treaties, and so on fit this model rather clearly. Likewise, the formation of Indian organizations, their goals of a cultural and economic nature, and their attempt to alter basic power relationships in the situation correspond to the second assumption. As Usher notes:

> Signs of increasing opposition in the hinterland to metropolitan dominance include the formation of political groups (or the politicization of existing groups) such as the National Farmers' Union and native rights organizations...[12]

In the northern case, it has been necessary to adopt organizational structures from the dominant group in order to "fight back" against its continuing power and to attempt to gain equitable participation in economic and other power structures on Indian terms.

The metropolis-hinterland perspective of power with respect to such inter-group relations seems to offer therefore an appropriate framework for the discussion and interpretation of Indian-white relations in the North, overcoming shortcomings of marginal man theory. Three main factors may be cited in drawing this conclusion. First, this perspective deals realistically with historical processes of development and change. Second, it provides a framework for discussion of power, domination and conflict in economic and other institutions. Third, it provides a basis for the interpretation of minority responses to a given situation in terms of the power relations between the groups.

In the examination of relationships between Indians and non-Indians in the North, it was apparent that the general characteristics of a marginal situation had long been present. As pointed out earlier, the organizational responses by Indians can be seen as responses to this situation and in particular, the power relationships embodied in it. Such organizational responses, as Patterson points out, are not new in Canada although they have become more numerous and more influential since World War II.[13] However, because these Indian-dominated and Indian-oriented organizational developments are relatively recent in the North, it is necessary to identify additional causally related factors. Four such related factors are important, it may be concluded; all of them the result of changes which had been occurring for some time, but which had culminated in a relatively short period of time.

The first of these changes involves the recent emergence of a group of young, active and relatively well educated Indian people. The formal education system of the larger society is really only beginning to produce Indian students in the North with more than a minimal level of non-Indian skills and knowledge. These individuals had considerable exposure to the non-Indian society, were fluent in English, and were not willing to accept the existing inter-group power relationships. All leadership positions in the emergent Indian organizations were found to be held by such persons. As Patterson indicates:

> In many cases those who are voicing the

> criticism and condemnations are those who are among the best educated and who are apparently the most capable of operating successfully outside of the Indian community. These are the people who are attempting to redefine Indianness and to consolidate their linkages with the general Indian population.[14]

Those in leadership positions had considerable experience in a wide range of activities and institutions that are part of the dominant Canadian society. These experiences ranged from education in different schools in the North and in the south, to employment in a variety of positions in both public and private enterprises. In most cases this exposure to the dominant society and its institutions has disillusioned the young Indian leaders with respect to their own prospects and made them more aware of the relationships which generally exist today between Indians and whites. The disillusionment and the rejection often associated with these experiences contributed largely to their search for alternatives for themselves and for their people to replace the established dominant-subordinate relationship that defines Indian-white association in Canada today.

These experiences were quite similar to those described in the literature as producing marginality. If these persons had rejected their own cultural heritage they could probably have been referred to as marginal men. However, they were not "torn between two worlds" but identified themselves with the subordinate Indian population. The innovative organizations they developed were oriented toward Indian goals. Their participation in these organizations and their self-identification as Indians served to effectively preclude them from being described as marginal men. As noted previously, the individuals who could have been termed marginal were those few who had been rejected or excluded from both groups.

An important facet of change related to both leadership and organizational development involves the very notion of Indian identity or Indianness. As has been discussed earlier, and as Slobodin illustrates,[15] the term 'Indian' and associated tribal identifications stem from European contact and influence. One of the major problems for new Indian leadership in the North, and one of the necessities of organizational development, has been to create a sense of commonality or Indianness that cuts across linguistic and band divisions. The new organizations, the Indian Brotherhood and the _Native Press_ in particular, have deliberately facilitated and fostered contacts and information flow across these barriers. Major attempts have been made to increase feelings of commonality utilizing the readily apparent necessity of dealing with common problems.

What Indian leaders in the North refer to as enhancing Indian identity thus appears to be an attempt to build a new and more commonly held definition of Indianness predicated upon similar experiences and situations _vis-a-vis_ the dominant white society. An important correlate of this is the creation of an Indian power base, tied to a new sense of commonality, from which to challenge the dominant group. The basic factors in this entire process are the re-definition of Indian/Indianness from subordinate to equal and a positive re-definition of Indian values, language, etc. The extent of penetration of these ideas to the grass roots level is open to some question although, from the researcher's limited observations, some degree of success has been achieved.

H. Cardinal expresses this phenomenon of re-definition rather well, although the effects of contact, especially education, have been perhaps less pervasive in the North than he indicates because of the shorter period of intense contact.

> People in my generation are no longer Indian, because for four generations before my generation, our people have been brainwashed. And through a very slow but sure process of brainwashing, the Indianness, the real Indianness that is left amongst people like myself is very small. We had the missionaries who were the frontrunners, we had the residential school systems that taught that brainwashing to two or three generations of Indian people. So today we have many young Indians who do not know who they are, or what their place is in this society or in this country. And in order to create in the cultural sense a whole new society, we must combine the skills that we have learnt through education; protect with whatever powers we can acquire through our economic status and create in a contemporary way a new meaning of Indianness, a new meaning to our identity in a new place for ourselves, not only in the society but in the country.[16]

Second, it was noted that in the North, particularly in band life and in predominantly Indian settlements, the Indian culture and way of life are still relatively strong and influential, despite continuing encroachments by non-Indians. However, major aspects of this way of life were seen by the emerging young leaders as coming under increasing pressure from the dominant society, and as needing protection if they were to be maintained. There is no question that the way of life and life conditions must be materially improved, a major goal of the Indian organizations and their leaders, but this was not seen as necessarily involving its abandonment. In other words, there was a feeling that while some degree of integration with the larger society is acceptable, even necessary and inevitable, this should not be forced, nor should it involve loss of cultural identity.

The third factor is related to the sweeping changes taking place in the northern situation and the increasing impingements of non-Indian institutions and culture on the subordinate Indian population. These changes include such things as the growing non-Indian population, the rapid exploration and exploitation of resources by multi-national corporations, increasing restrictions and regulations imposed by government agencies, and the like. Change has always been an aspect of the northern situation. However, the precipitating factor now is the rapidly accelerating pace of change. The feeling among many involved with the Indian organizations, and among many Indians not directly involved was that some resistance to these changes was necessary if the Indian people were to survive as Indians, either in or out of the larger society.

The fourth factor involves the greatly improved communication facilities in the North, both between segments of the subordinate group, and between the subordinate Indian group and the larger Canadian society. Information transfer is much easier now than in the past. This makes more information available to the Indian people in general, as well as to the new Indian leadership group. New roads, improved air travel, radio, and improved telecommunications all contribute to this factor.

Each of these contributing factors, and their importance to the innovations and changes taking place, reflects the decreasing isolation of the North as a whole and of the Indian peoples in particular. The greater or more continuous the contact with the agencies and institutions of the dominant white group, the greater is the impact on, and potential disruption of, the Indian way of life; and the greater are the pressures for acculturation. But, at the same time, this decreased isolation in all of its forms is a prominent contributing factor to the increasing awareness among the Indians of the realities of their situation. Once widely separated bands are becoming aware of similarities in their problems and concerns. The leaders in the new Indian organizations are also increasingly aware of the positions taken by Indians in other parts of the country and, in many instances, are influenced by them. The innovative Indian organizations are therefore adopting and utilizing not only the organizational skills and techniques of the dominant white institutions, but also adaptations of the methods of other Canadian Indian peoples and organizations used in dealing with similar situations.

The major response to the situation existing in the North, and in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area in particular, involved the conceptualization and creation of innovative Indian-oriented and change-oriented organizations. These organizations were established and functioned as a part of neither the white nor the Indian groups' existing structures. Rather they were interposed in intermediate positions of the prevailing white-Indian hierarchy. Existing thus within the total situation, but not completely within either group, these organizations were in a position to influence both the dominant and subordinate groups, as well as the relationships between them.

The major effects of these organizations on the total situation were noted in several areas of particular importance.

First, by virtue of their leadership personnel and intermediate position, they are beginning to alter the established dominant-subordinate relationship between whites and Indians. No longer are the institutions of the dominant group able to institute policies and activities that remain effectively unchallenged if not in the best interests of the Indian people. While such challenges and related demands are not always successful, there is a slowly developing change in the long established power of the dominant white group. The latter must now take into account the increasing influence of the Indian people on the decision-making processes.

Second, the subordinate group is able, through these organizations, to apply direct pressures for changes that would benefit Indian people in the North. The traditional and segmented band and community structures have been relatively ineffectual in this respect. However, the new organizations, with the type of leadership and resources involved, are able to press for basic changes much more strongly and with much greater chance of success. Apart from the position occupied by these organizations in the hierarchy of power, their representation of increased unification of the Indian people and their use of publicity are most important.

Third, an explicit goal of the Indian organizations is a greater degree of protection for the Indian culture and way of life. This appeared to mean that Indians should not lose identification with their cultural heritage through acculturative processes such as education, and that those who wished to follow hunting, trapping and fishing pursuits should not be compelled, directly or indirectly, to do otherwise. In addition to the activities specifically directed toward this end, the greater emphasis on Indian culture in the new school and attempts to gain aboriginal land use rights, the new organizations are a source of re-emergent pride in being Indian. The fostering of cultural activities and Indian identification contributes materially to the reduction of the acculturative effects of non-Indian intrusion.

The fourth major result of these organizational responses, related to all of the above, involves a considerable broadening of the conflict or potential conflict between Indians and non-Indians. This conflict at the most fundamental level is essentially tied to the different goals of the two groups: exploitation and economic gain by the whites on the one hand; and cultural maintenance and equality for the Indians on the other. With the increasing knowledge and awareness of the new Indian leaders, the demands for Indian rights are being considerably widened. From the long-standing concerns with immediate issues such as hunting and fishing rights, a transition is taking place. The new demands involve aboriginal rights, land and land usage, and participation in decision-making in the areas of pipelines, exploration, mineral royalties and the like. These new demands are directed at the bases of non-Indian power and control in the North, indeed the major reasons for the non-Indian presence there. Such conflicts thus are controversial and disruptive from the point of view of the dominant white group, in that they involve the major areas of white domination in economics and politics.

Although at the conclusion of the present research, the new organizations were functioning or developing quite effectively, and generally in accordance with expectations, two potential problems have been noted. The first involves the operation of the organizations themselves, particularly the Indian Brotherhood. The second is related to their major goal of culture maintenance. Both are consequences of the changes occurring in the situation, especially as related to the loss of isolation.

With respect to the former problem, structural and attitudinal changes are apparent within the organizations. Although they have Indian goals and express Indian cultural values, these organizations have developed an internal structural relationship and method of operation very similar to those of the dominant white institutions. This change in itself is quite understandable in terms of the necessity of dealing with the dominant white society. But the changes in attitudes and orientations related to these structural changes are important. A degree of bureaucratization and formalization (that was not originally present) seems to be developing. This may be a possible future hindrance in relations with the grass roots Indian population. Informants outside the organizations noted on several occasions that they were becoming "more white than Indian". While this sentiment was usually directed toward specific Indian individuals, concern was often expressed about the future roles of the organizations themselves. Some informants feared that the result might be self-perpetuating structures, concerned with the interests of those directly involved but paying little attention to their original goals. In this connection, the researcher noted the tendency toward the formation of a new influential Indian elite group, based on their position, knowledge, and power gained through these organizations. H. Adams warns that Indian organizations that are not "responsible and responsive to the people" may become tools of the white society,[17] and Dosman's discussion of the "affluent" Indians in Saskatoon and their relations with Indian organizations and the government provides an illustration.[18]

The second problem area involves culture maintenance. In the long run, this might be the most serious for the Indian people of the North. In the first place, changes are occurring in Canadian society as a whole: in education, technology, communications and the like. These reduce the viability of the way of life associated with contact-traditional Indian cultures. Because of changes in the ecology, the use of more sophisticated techniques, and declining market demands, a livelihood based upon hunting, trapping and fishing is much less reliable. In addition, the semi-permanent village life, now regarded by many as the Indian way of life, is changing considerably, as better communication and transportation links are established with the larger towns.

Because of these factors, there is increasing proximity and access of the Indian people to significant segments of the dominant white society and culture. This is having the effect of not only influencing the Indian way of life, but of drawing off a portion of the Indian population. On the one hand this is a result of better communications and the expansion of non-Indian, especially governmental, activity and influence in the North. On the other hand, the Indian organizations operating in close contact with the dominant society, particularly in the case of the new school, increase the exposure of many Indian people to the dominant society and culture.

Intentionally or unintentionally, new channels and opportunities for inter-group mobility are being created by Indians and non-Indians alike. A fear expressed by quite a few informants, is that the Indian culture and way of life may eventually disappear, and that all that would remain would be a "show" or historical culture.

In this research, the investigator has been able to realistically examine and discuss the various causes and conditions of the situation in the Yellowknife - Fort Rae area and the resulting Indian organizational development. The prevailing situation and the changes occurring therein have led to the formation of innovative Indian organizations with specific purposes. The major purposes were the protection and preservation of significant elements of the Indian culture and way of life, the provision of a new and strong focus of unity for the subordinate Indian population, and the establishing of more effective means of access to the power structures of the dominant white group. Arising from these needs, these organizations offer the best potential for arriving at a resolution of the problems and needs of the subordinate Indian population, and the establishing of more effective means of access to the power structures of the dominant white group. These innovative organizations, analagous to the dominant institutions and with access to appropriate and necessary skills and knowledge, are able to speak strongly for the Indian people, and to interact with the dominant white group on a more equitable and mutually undertandable level.

Within this framework, it was possible to examine and discuss the changes occurring in the North on a relatively broad and inclusive level. While culture change in the subordinate Indian group was one aspect of this, it was related to changes occurring in the larger society and to the increasingly pervasive presence of the dominant white group in the North. The innovative organizations were becoming the focus of change as it affected the Indian population as a whole. These Indian organizations were able to examine, challenge, and direct change for the benefit of Indians, as determined by their leaders and influenced by the grass roots level.

Of major importance in this respect is the finding that while culture conflict is an important result of the changing situation, the broadening of the conflict between subordinate and dominant groups is becoming more important. The emerging conflicts between Indians and whites at the level of organizational structures involves the real underlying causes of inter-group conflicts. These areas, while often phrased in terms of identity and culture, are really concerned with power in the situation and with access to decision-making positions. Indian leaders feel that the Indian culture, identity, and way of life cannot be indefinitely preserved without an adequate economic base. The spheres of economics and economic development, therefore, are the scene of the most direct challenges to the power of the dominant white group, and the most negative reactions on the part of whites.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In spite of the limitations placed upon the research by problems of distance and finances, the researcher feels he had gained a fairly comprehensive access to the northern situation as a whole, and, in particular, a good rapport with the Indian population in the Fort Rae - Yellowknife area. The scene of the research, because of the above limitations, has been restricted largely to the two communities of Yellowknife and Fort Rae, although contacts were made with individuals from a number of other settlements. However, for present purposes, this seems adequate because of the nature of these two communities. Yellowknife is the largest non-Indian community in the North and the major centre of economic and political power and change. Fort Rae is the largest Indian settlement in the North; it is connected to Yellowknife by only 70 miles of road, and is a strong centre of Indian culture and life style. But at the same time it is experiencing considerable pressure for change. In combination, these two communities provided a very good opportunity to observe significant segments of both the dominant and subordinate populations and to examine in some detail the changes which were occurring. While the changes and pressures were felt to be perhaps somewhat more immediately noticeable in this area, similar phenomena on a different scale could be expected in other communities. The examination of the smaller and more isolated communities in this regard might possibly be a topic for further study.

In this connection, a suggestion for specific comparisons between different Indian settlements with respect to particular types of non-Indian intrusions might be made. For example, the community of Fort Providence was noted to have liquor outlets, an intrusion that was being strongly resisted by the Chief and band council at Fort Rae. Other communities that had major oil and mineral exploration or construction in the immediate vicinity might be compared with those not so favored. In a similar vein, a more complete study of the attitudes toward the Brotherhood, for example, might be conducted, comparing the smaller and more isolated settlements with those that are larger and closer to the centre of operations in Yellowknife.

Since the field research was conducted at the beginning and end of a two-year period, a number of significant changes in the situation are noted and discussed. However, a number of possible directions of future change are also noted; research at some later date might provide useful information about such changes and the continuing development of the Indian organizations, especially the impact of the new school. As has been noted, these organizations are involved with both short and long term goals and activities, and they had experienced a number of structural and operational changes, even at the time of the second field trip. In addition, it would be informative to compare the patterns and directions of Indian organizational development and change in the North, with similar organizations in the south. Considerations of particular situations and their historical development as they affected the Indian organizations might be of particular significance. The most noticeable differences and possibly the most crucial ones might involve the lateness of northern development and the relative isolation of the North as a whole from the seats of over-all Canadian economic and political power.

The method of research used in this study, participant observation has both positive and negative effects on the findings although it is felt that the former far outweigh the latter. In this respect, the researcher as participant observer was able to gain the greatest possible access to both the formal and informal aspects of the subordinate Indian group. Living with Indian families in the Indian section of Yellowknife and in Fort Rae, the researcher gained considerable first-hand experience of the Indian way of life, attitudes, and the problems they faced in their daily lives and their concerns for the future. In no other way could this degree of understanding of the ideas and activities of the Indian people have been obtained.

Participant observation allowed the researcher the opportunity to observe, note and even to a limited extent, experience, the impact and influence of non-Indian, innovative, and traditional Indian organizations and ideas on the situation as experienced by the Indian people. For example, even during the researcher's stay in Fort Rae, the Indian Brotherhood was gradually taking over some of the responsibilities of the band structures, particularly dealings with government. Persons with problems were tending to turn to the Brotherhood personnel for advice, as indeed was the Chief and band council.

The most serious negative factor associated with participant observation in this instance, was that in a relatively small and divided population, the researcher became identified with the subordinate group. Many members of the dominant group were suspicious of the activities of Indians; some of this suspicion was transferred to the researcher. Contacts in the dominant group were more difficult for this reason, as well as the need to maintain good relations with contacts in the subordinate group.

The degree of visibility of the researcher and the extent to which his activities were observed by non-Indians in Yellowknife was brought home rather dramatically in the spring of 1973. The researcher was in Ottawa visiting the Member of Parliament for the Northwest Territories, a good friend from the first field trip to the North. While in the Member's office, the mayor of Yellowknife and an associate arrived. The researcher remembered the mayor only by sight, and could not remember ever seeing the other individual. However this individual turned to the researcher and said that he remembered him from Yellowknife. The researcher replied that, indeed, he had been there a few years previously. He received the comment: "yes, and weren't you doing something with the Indians?"

CHAPTER VIII - FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Lurie, N.O., "The Contemporary American Indian Scene", op. cit., p. 423.

Events subsequent to the research have shown that Indians in the North have found such "assets" in terms of the legal ability to challenge mineral and land exploitation pending satisfactory settlement of Indian treaty, land, and aboriginal rights claims. These assets really involve the use of legal power to combat government and corporate power.

2 Helm, J., and E.B. Leacock, op. cit., p. 369.

3 Patterson, E.P., op. cit., pp. 1-23 et passim.

4 Ibid., p. 107 et passim.

5 See also:

Dunning, R.W., "Some Problems of Reserve Indian Communities: A Case Study", op. cit., p. 26 et passim.

6 Honigmann, J.J., "Interpersonal Relations and Ideology in a Northern Canadian Community", Social Forces, Vol. 35, #4, (May, 1957), p. 365.

7 Ibid., p. 369.

8 Davis, A.K., "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland Versus Metropolis", in R. Ossenberg, (ed.), Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict, Scarborough, Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1971, p. 12.

9 Ibid.

10 Usher, P.J., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 19.

11 Davis, A.K., "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland Versus Metropolis", op. cit., p. 13.

12 Usher, P., "Hinterland Culture Shock", Canadian Dimension, Vol. 8, #8, (August, 1972), p. 30.

13 Patterson, E.P., op. cit., pp. 176-188.

14 Ibid., p. 186.

15 Slobodin, R., " 'The Indians of Canada' Today: Questions of Identity", in Canada: A Sociological Profile, W.E. Mann (ed.), Toronto, Copp-Clark, 1971, pp. 287-289.

16 Cardinal, H., Address to the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology Meeting, 1969, in Canadian Confrontations-Hinterlands vs. Metropolis, A.K. Davis (ed.), Edmonton, University of Alberta Printing Services, p. 23.

17 Native Press, August 28, 1971, p. 5.

18 Dosman, E.J., op. cit.

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APPENDIX - A

INDIAN OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

YELLOWKNIFE

Administrative	6[a]
Clerical	13[b]
Salespersons, waitresses	4
Janitorial, etc.	11
Truck drivers, heavy machinery operators, etc.	6
Mining	5
Construction and other labour	10
Prospecting	3
Hunting, trapping and fishing	23[c]
Unemployed	33[d]

a - This includes 5 Indian Brotherhood personnel.
b - Of this number, 6 were employed in the Indian Brotherhood office.
c - Most of these persons received some government assistance on a seasonal basis.
d - The only source of income was government assistance except for occasional casual labour.

The above table is based on the researcher's observations and information provided by informants. It includes only persons normally resident in Yellowknife. It does not include non-working dependants, (housewives, children), those on pensions or persons otherwise not part of the potential labour force.